1: Gifford

728
778

[For information on the voluntary exile of people to remote islands for political or military reasons, see Categories 166 and 727.]

8

fakafaahinga means "to act in tribes, to maintain the distinction of tribes." Moreover the dictionaries equate the three words *haa*, *faahinga*, and *matakali*. Doubtless they are used interchangeably to-day and their former, perhaps distinct, meanings have become merged. The word *matakali* is cognate with Fijian *matanggali* (51, vol. 1, p. 264). Certainly the Fijian *matanggali* and the Tongan *haa* have much in common.

Besides being used for a division of a *haa*, the term *matakali* was used by one informant for a village as a whole. He spoke of the village of Okoa, Vavau, as forming a *matakali*. The village and island of Okoa form one of the hereditary tracts belonging to Tui Lakepa, one of the four chiefs who head divisions of the Haa Fale Fisi and it is possible that the informant was thinking of this when he said, "all of the people of Okoa form a *matakali*." Whether he included people married into the village, as well as natives, was not ascertained.

The Haa Fale Fisi is divided into four parts: Haa Ngana of which Tui Haa Ngana is chief, and of which Nganatatafu, brother of the twentieth Tui Tonga (Tatafueikimeimua) was the eponymous ancestor; Haa Teiho of which Tui Haa Teiho is chief; Haa Ngana of which Malupo is chief; and a fourth part of which Tui Lakepa is chief. Tui Lakepa is regarded as the head of the Haa Fale Fisi as a whole. Apparently the presence or absence of *haa* subdivisions depends upon the prominence of the chiefs within a *haa* and the number of their people.

Major and minor divisions of *haa* are revealed in the Haa Ngata Motua, the most powerful and numerous lineage of modern Tonga. In this lineage, the several chiefs probably head divisions of the *haa*. The chief Ahomee heads the division Haa Vakatolo which is subdivided into four parts: (a) Haa Latakofe, to which Ahomee himself belongs and of which he is the head; (b) Haa Leleka, of which Lavaka-vao-leleva is head; (c) Haa Motua, of which Napaa is head; (d) Haa Melie, of which Mahakimata is head. Lavaka-vao-leleva, Napaa, and Mahakimata are younger brothers, either lineal or collateral, of Ahomee. Ahomee applied the term *matakali* to the
four subdivisions. The god of all four subdivisions of the Haa Vakatolo [776]
is Tui Fisi and the *fehi* tree is sacred to him. Ahomee stated that the or- [778]
ganization of the Haa Vakatolo division of the Haa Ngata Motua is a fair [824]
sample of Tongan *haa* organization.

Another example of divisions of a *haa* is presented by the Haa Motuapuaka, in which the distribution of the divisions has been obviously affected by ceremonial considerations. The Haa Motuapuaka is represented in six island groups: Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, and Uvea (Wallis, beyond the limits of the modern kingdom of Tonga). In each of these six island groups the Haa Motuapuaka is represented by two

TABLE 9. TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

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793
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424

TRANSMISSION	TOTALS	TONGA TUI HAA	MALE TUI TAKALAUA	TUI KANOKUPOLU	CHIEFS	MATAPULES, NAV'GTRS, PRIESTS, ARTISANS
To son	142	32	11	7	71	21
To brother	26	3		3	11	9
To brother's son	9			3	3	3
To father's brother's son	5				3	2
To daughter's son	5				3	2
To son's son	5				3	2
To father's brother	3			2	1	
To brother's son's son	2			1	1	
To father's father's brother's son	1			1		
To father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To father's father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To sister's son	1					1
To son's daughter's son	1			1		
To daughter	1			1		

BARDS

Bards, ordinarily ranking about on a level with matapules, have always 538
occupied an honorable position in Tongan society, being regarded as the in- 554
tellectual equals of the most brilliant minds. The poet Tuakilaumea was the son of matapule Motuapuaka. The poets Ulamoleka and Teukava were chiefs. In 1921 the chief Vaea was writing poetry.

The poems themselves reflect the social position and cleverness of their 538
authors. The introduction (p. 88) to the "Poem of Mumui" (16, p. 98) indicates that the poet was liable to punishment for relatively small offenses.
Because Tuakilaumea had appropriated a gift of kava intended for Mumui, 685
the Tui Kanokupolu, the poet's house was destroyed. Tuakilaumea, taking 538
refuge in a sanctuary (Faletapu), composed a lay about Mumui. He then 643
attached himself to the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea at Mua, where 687 [778]
with a company of chanters he presented the lay. Mumui, learning of the clever poem, invited Tuakilaumea to Nukualofa to present it before him, thus evidencing his forgiveness of the kava appropriation.

Another poem (16, p. 71) indicates that for some small offense Ulukalala 538
proceeded to set Mamaeaepoto on shore, much to the poet's chagrin. It is also recorded that the chief Ulamoleka ordered a poet to accompany him from Tongatabu to Eua, even though the poet's father was on his death bed.

Though the profession of bard seems to have been an honored one, the [554]
poets were very definitely dependent upon the patronage of the great chiefs. [622]
Here and there in the poems this protection is mentioned, usually meta- [571]
phorically, by saying the poet is aboard a great vessel.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

582

98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as 604
in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga 593
(mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in 605
rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. [184]
In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from 184
early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. 776
Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village [778]
of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. [793]
Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the [778]
southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the [793]
name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

> Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year [276]
> 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was
> given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to [669]
> Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from
> Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I [798]
> laid siege to it with his Methodist army.
>
> When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

Oku sii pe ka oe latea	It is small but it is strong	[539]
Koe kava na'e o Pea	The kava was formerly of Pea	
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea	It has come from the punished town.	

upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775
and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written 772
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

> It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776
god Taufa might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man
or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths con- 776
cerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [778]
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times
has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's
gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south
street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current
that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming
the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate
the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform
(*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo,* which is the Tongan rendering of 776
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting
etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]
tevolo as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776
term for a god seems to be *otua.* The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192
a synonym, as was also *puloa.* The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua,*
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [171]
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the [793]
creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. [773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself [164]
buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [762]
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [793]
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [643]
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan
pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the 776
cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid 773
into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.) 823

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter,
said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of 776
Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in 773
flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this charac- 824
teristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called 776
because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow 773
stone called the kava bowl of Maui. 823

HIKULEO

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects 776
with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time.
Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been 776
at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of 226
mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this
is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. [115]
Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, con-
tributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there 776
died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was fre- [787]
quently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subse-
quently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood 778
a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemee. It was located on a 776
tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto,
and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a
famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to [782]
Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of exe- [755]
cuted persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human [782]
sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The 000
following anecdote is told:

The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and 778
feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaa- 726
nuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended [782]
to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [484]
People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in
which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving
her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required every- 776
one to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's
eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people
are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo,* that is an original god rather than an *ata*
(shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the
deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on
the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

origin, having been built a few generations ago, for pigeon catching, by 776
Matauvave, the matapule of Tui Tonga, who had charge of that sport in 349
Haapai. There was no house for the deities on this mound.

The informant translated Malimeihevao as "stealing your senses if you 776
are liked," but an analysis of the word yields: *mali*, to smile or to marry; 196
meihe, from the; *vao*, bush, which is quite in consonance with the attributes
of the deity. Puakamopele was translated as "pig and stronger," but analyses
as "pig and favorite, pet, or darling."

The sacred animal of Puakamopele was the gecko called *moko*, that of 776
Malimeihevao was the owl called *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*). As already stated, 825
Malimeihevao entered the owl, where he still dwells, through which medium
he still meddles with the affairs of mortals. If a woman is pregnant but the [787]
fact is not public knowledge, the owl makes it known by calling near the [843]
house in which the woman lives. Likewise, if the owl calls near a house and [763]
then flies to the graveyard, it is a sign that death will soon visit that house.

Tui Haa Fakafanua

The deity Tui Haa Fakafanua is by Collocott and Tongan informants 776
identified with Tutumatua of Fiji and with Moso of Samoa. One Tongan informant also identified this god with Seketoa of Niuatoputapu. It seems likely that these identifications, particularly the last, are in the nature of rationalizations.

Collocott (9, p. 156) describes the entry of this god into his priest. He [787]
manifested himself in the gecko, or to use the Tongan metaphor, the gecko [825]
was the "boat of the god."

Maufanga in Tongatabu and Faleloa in the island of Foa, Haapai, seem 776
to have been principal seats of this god, although a third sanctuary was 778
located in Lifuka, Haapai, on the site called Hahaia, now occupied by the
Catholic church. Collocott's account (op. cit. p. 227) of the god refers
especially to his manifestations in Tongatabu and to his connection with the
chief Fakafanua. The ancestor of Fakafanua, the present noble of Maufanga, was Kinikinilau who probably lived in the early part of the seventeenth
century (26, p. 69) so that the Fakafanua title does not appear to be very
old. The exact site of the sanctuary in Tongatabu was called Vakataumai.
The priest seems to have borne the name of Makaui. If tradition is to be [793]
relied upon, there was already a Makaui officiating in the time of Kinikinilau.
It would be interesting to know whether the god of that time bore the name
Tui Haa Fakafanua. Today the god is rudely referred to as Fakafanua's
devil as well as by his true name. Collocott refers to the famous sanctuary
of the god at Maufanga, which afforded protection to fugitives from vengeance. It was this sanctuary that was shelled by the French warship Astrolabe
in 1827 (20, p. 268 footnote):

> It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode 776
> of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always 778
> from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their
> most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the [793]
> tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-
> fruits offered at the shrine of their deities.

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent
in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent
in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees [825]
a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. [763]
Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, [763]
whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed
to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream
called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream
was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes
as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, 776
Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. 778
He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. 793
In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to [787]
consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the [825]
house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the
house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives
of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was
regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance
indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest
was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest [787]
became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the
spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the
wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice.
This particular priest was murdered by Taufaahau, afterwards King George I.
Taufaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so.
Taufaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the
kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaahau served the priest.
As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaahau struck him on the neck with
his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Christian. [797]

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, 776
related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. 778
The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name
Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at [825]
this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or [793]
was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the
Faleloa informants; by a priest named Makaui according to the Fotua informant.

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was 776
sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's 778
restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated [782]
to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a [825]
white stone called Makaui (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the 776
priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god 778 823
desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come.
This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for [793]
Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the
priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that
the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaahau
was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the
temples of the gods, the stone Makaui gave warning of this while Taufaahau
was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makaui is reported to be buried in a vault
in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the 778
accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makaui the priest, and not
the stone.

> Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. 776
> His priest there was named Makaui. The incarnation of the god was the gecko [778]
> (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another [793]
> person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua. [825]
>
> The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also [782]
> variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should
> anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the 776 825
> man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and 784
> later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple
> there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.
>
> Makaui, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the 776
> Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man 793
> named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. [501]
> When Makaui arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makaui
> stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has
> had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the
> thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some
> kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.
>
> Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the [778]
> island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to [787]
> consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound 776
which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the 778
chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the [772]
nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was [769]
evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangai- 776
motu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god 778
steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly there- 784 [515]
after, or was never seen again. [833] [763]

HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and 776
consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina 821
can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain
heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or [778]
the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn. [793]

TAUFA

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. 776
His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital 778
of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of
Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god 776
was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). 825
Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and [782]
proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Tau- 776
faahau, later King George I. 643 755

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was
Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and [778]
Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the
priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they [793]
brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes [787]
pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sick-
ness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At 776
the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure 793
him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better 787
take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better." 755

Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga- 776
tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was 773
being pursued by Taufaahau (later King George I): 778

> Taufaahau had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaahau issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.
>
> When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaahau gave 776
> orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to 773
> the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and 778
> sent to Taufaahau, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods 782
> (*koloa*) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it
> meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed,
> saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was im-
> mediately killed and carried to Taufaahau. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was
> said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own
> life (*manava*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that [793]
> anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his
> pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When
> Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before 776
his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Moheofo 793
or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu. The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic [795]
and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors. He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He emphasized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like Fakailoatonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*faahikehe*), who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakaloa*), which is tied at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to
the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless
spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded 776
as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate 825
also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living
person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoa, the
fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to
drown himself and became a fish.

TUI TOFUA

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua 776
Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drowning and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu), and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetaea. The term Tui Tofua is not a title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Taufa Tofua.

DEITIES OF TONGATABU ISLAND

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu [128]
Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Taufa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu [821]
Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230) 776
states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. 778
As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou. The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa, is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles [823]
and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. 776
She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence [826]
Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off [797]
the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god [821]
caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity. [798]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Tongatabu Island]

Pulotu Katoa was a weather god controlling drought, hurricane, and rain. 776
His sanctuary was at Kolonga, in northeastern Tongatabu, and his priest bore [821]
the title of Vakaahi. The site of his temple was called Haateiho and the [778]
temple itself was called Faletoonga (House-of-rites). The last Vakaahi died [793]
about 1878. I was able, however, to interview his son's son, Tangatailoa,
and obtained from him the following information:

> Vakaahi said that when the spirit of Pulotu Katoa entered him he felt that it 776
> completely filled him, and he felt that it was the god who spoke and not himself.
> The god inspired him only at the tract Haateiho. When there was a drought the 793
> Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea chiefs came from west Tongatabu to Mua, where they [787]
> interviewed the Tui Tonga, preparatory to paying a visit to the temple of Pulotu
> Katoa. The offerings which were brought to the god were fine mats, tapa, and [782]
> other forms of wealth. These were kept in a special storehouse near the priest's
> residence. Most of them were never used, but were allowed to decay. What the
> priest might need he took, however. One Tui Tonga bestowed upon the priest Vakaahi [643]
> two pieces of land in Lapaha. They were called Ahotalakoloa and Faletoonga.
>
> It is said that Takai, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu Island, once had an argument with the god Pulotu Katoa, while the god was incarnate in his priest. The argument centered around the ability of the god to create a hurricane. As a test Takai built a house and the god promptly blew it down. Then Takai built a second house of hard wood called *ngesi*. This was built very strongly with posts all around. The god tried in vain to blow it down. The remains of this house which was called Fakaveleatenge are still to be seen in Pea.

Another story refers to an occasion on which Fae, the younger brother of 776
Takai, and his successor at Pea, besought Pulotu Katoa for rain to break a 793
drought: 782

821

> Fae called at Pea an assembly of the priests of all of the gods of Tongatabu. [622]
> Each priest besought his god for rain, but to no avail. Then Fae suggested that they all proceed to Kolonga to beseech Pulotu Katoa for rain, at his shrine. This was done. Vakaahi, the priest instructed the visitors to prepare kava for the god stating that he would supply the water. The kava was chewed and placed in the bowl. Although it was a clear, hot day, a cloud appeared over the bowl and rain fell and filled it. Moreover, the rain continued to such an extent that it was up to the waists of the chiefs and priests in the kava circle. Fae insisted that they should not move, lest the god become insulted.
>
> When the rain was over they set out for Pea, but Fae decided to remain at Ahau in Mua. Before the departure of the visitors Vakaahi's wife gave the priests and chiefs fresh tapa garments to replace the wet ones. Vakaahi asked Fae before his departure where he would spend the night, for he intended to have the rain cease until Fae had reached his destination. Fae replied that he would remain at Ahau in Mua for the night. The rain was withheld until he reached Ahau. The rest of the party went on to Pea, but in a heavy rain, for just as soon as Fae had reached his destination the rain commenced to fall again, as was foretold. Fae's purpose in stopping at Ahau was to visit the priest of the god Taufaitahi. Fae had a house of his own at Ahau.

It is to be noted that Farmer (23) states on the authority of early 776
Methodist missionaries that Hikuleo was the most important deity of Tongatabu and the one for whom the *inasi* ceremony was held. Yet modern informants stress Pulotu Katoa and have little to say about Hikuleo. I suspect

[Lifuka Island]

South of the mound Lefelefevalu is a stone called Anganganiofae, which 776
is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head 773
of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 823

DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary 776
on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been 778
especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. [821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with cane (*koho*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house.
They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house 776
just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food 778
that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon 782
their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig.

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo 776
and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them 787
whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of 484
the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return [782]
from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet
with mishap.

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing 776
they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird 825
of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today 226
the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds.

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. However, 776
prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's 825
house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appearance
of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The [782]
people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly
those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself,
but merely the messenger of the god.

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, 776
being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest 821
was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary between
the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and [793]
the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed [787]
by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people.
The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract
of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief.

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 793
1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was 115
another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the 778
village of Holopeka.

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaahau 776
set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he 797
escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by 798
Taufaahau. 793

[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following 776
account of the god Ngaohaa: [115]

> The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman
> named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary
> lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple 776
> by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to 793
> accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of
> Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god
> was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.]
>
> If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The 776
> people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the 793
> priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would 821
> direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. 484
> If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather
> would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but 793
> if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 821
>
> If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess 776
> and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then 793
> be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must 787
> await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess 755
> tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The [782]
> priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the
> chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god.
>
> At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. 776
> Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but 793
> the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the 787
> same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings."
>
> On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.
>
> This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding [115]
Ngaohaa:

> The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god 776
> in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy 778
> place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the
> place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside.
>
> Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

[Lifuka Island]

wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's 776
house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When 778
people came to make supplication to the god they would wreathe themselves about the 782
neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and [757]
noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief 776
Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who 793
manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The [825]
god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava,* like certain
other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also [778]
the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave.
As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the [787]
priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her.
Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman. Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of matapule rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island.

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The 776
finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will 782
of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai
to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of 776 484
head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for 782
favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems
believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan 776
house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such 778
as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and 793
kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no [417]
harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was [794]
occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence.

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at 776
Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was 778
imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka:

> The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket [793]
> containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo* (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for
> people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's [784]
> premises.

[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would 776
place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They 782
would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick 755
person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside
where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the [757]
priest and would recover.

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person 776
would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the car- 778
riage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 784
753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled.
His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided 776
in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and 793
slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with [787]
him in the night time. [595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called 776
Haa Fakanapa. 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his [778]
premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication
to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside [516]
of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole [778]
called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [823]

DEITIES OF FOA ISLAND

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people [755]
prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of
another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished
piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover.

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as [793]
Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, [778]
a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric.

DEITIES OF HAAFEVA ISLAND

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being asso- 776
ciated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The 778
spring is called Matahiva. [823]

DEITIES OF FOTUHAA ISLAND

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa,
but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived
was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, [821]
the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front [782]
of the god's house.

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the 776
kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that 793
the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 787
821

through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky 776
roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must 793
rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, 787
but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had 821
begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa
people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the people 776
that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and [797]
Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a
Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At [793]
least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo*.

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of [793]
the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by [778]
the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was [787]
thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was
indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. 776
When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and 825
coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top
of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in
which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The [793]
priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god
had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The 776
coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a 787
visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a num-
ber of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that [763]
the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the [793]
priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, 776
Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa.
Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moun-
gaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could [784]
be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The [171]
god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and [787] [793]

told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons. 776 [787] [793]

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. [782] [755] 776 821 505 776 [266] [784] [262]

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies. [825]

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him. [778] 776 793

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 782 776 755 605

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left. 776 784 [262] [785] [825]

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could 776 793 [787] [illegible] [illegible] [304] [782]

eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793
root was called *kongo kava*. 782 [276]

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract 776
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 793
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 778
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [301]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [316]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [565]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shiv- [787]
ered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [782]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [755]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacri- [763]
fice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit out- [784]
side. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very [778]
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects [778]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe*, *Globicera pacifica*) which he [825]
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish [276]
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest 776
always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, 793
but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their 787
priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who [778]
stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the
fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa [825]
Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu. [613]

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name. 776

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered 776
Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's 346
house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole
just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; 776
that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different 787
from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's [793]
god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. 776
If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled 782
who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick
person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints [304]
placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground [516]
outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on
the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also 776
to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god 782
has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then 793
they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home. 755

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house 782
all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a
sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace [292]
of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. 778
People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were [784]
war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries,
were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish 776
form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his 793
suicide. (26, p. 83.) 825

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. 793
The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In 165
those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other 776
gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The [825]
pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the
god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted 776
something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be 782
given for the demand.

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo,* are believed to be 787
caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making 753
him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are [755
employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of 757
the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting 776]
the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo"
(The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort 273
caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation. 787

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes 793
a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits [885
manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through 857]
children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a
priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood [428
passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some 787]
other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga
of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of [643]
Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some
other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed
by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests
of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to
have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested [797]
by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui 643
Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, 793
son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in
spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the
high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did
appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu
Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied 793
only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data 124
to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama*
refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for
priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga.* No other informant, however, gave this term
and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua.* Ana Manu of
Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had 778
in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. [793
Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. 613]
One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance
of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated
virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at [688]

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [771]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested
by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was wor- 776
shipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

kupolu. A deity named Malua Taufa was also mentioned as a patron of 776
the Tui Kanokupolu. The priest Totohoumafisi resided not in western 643
Tongatabu, but at Tatakamotonga, adjoining the Tui Tonga's capital of [793]
Lapaha. The tract upon which Taliai Taipou's temple was situated, and [778]
wherein Totohoumafisi resided, was called Kavaui. The nearby residence
of the Tui Kanokupolu at Tatakamotonga, as well as at his residence at Kolo-
vai in the Hihifo district, was called Langakali. The patron deity of the 776
lineage Haa Fakafanua, and of the chief of that lineage who was called 613
Fakafanua, was the gecko god Tui Haa Fakafanua. He is today referred [825]
to in the inelegant phraseology of "Fakafanua's devil". His principal seat
is at Maufanga, Tongatabu, where Fakafanua resides.

The patron deity of the chief Nuku, the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, was Pulotu Katoa. His priest was Vakaahi. Mofutaetau was a patron deity of the chief Tamale who resided at Niutoua, Tongatabu. The god Taufaitahi was the patron of both Tau'faahau, afterwards King George I, and of the great chief Tungi. His priest is named Kautae, the incumbent in 1921 having been appointed by the present Tungi. The chief Valu of Utulau, Tongatabu, was under the patronage of the god Kaifakaau.

None of the priests of the gods seem themselves to have actually officiated 793
at sacrifices, thus differing very markedly from the priests of the Aztec 782
gods of Mexico who were the executioners of the sacrificial victims. Sac-
rifice in Tonga seems always to have been made by the supplicants. In the
sacrifice of neither an infant nor an older person, did the priest garrot
the victim with the strangling cord; this was done by the victim's own
relatives. The same was true of finger sacrifices.

The term *momoi* means to present an offering or sacrifice. The one who offers the sacrifice is called *moihu,* a term which also has the significance of mediator and as such also applies in a way to the priest.

HUMAN SACRIFICE

Amputation of a little finger was a widespread practice in the eighteenth 782
century, and was noted by Tasman (30, p. 27) also in 1643. In 1921 but 304
one person was living who had undergone this sacrifice. The informant,
Rose Fatafehi, had witnessed the sacrifice of a little finger to the god Tui
Haa Fakafanua.

Cook recounts (18, vol. 1, p. 222):

> A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greatest part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavored, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands per-

SANCTUARIES

According to one prominent informant, all Tongan god-houses were 778 sanctuaries to which a fugitive might flee. There seem, however, to have been certain sanctuaries which were particularly noted as places of refuge (*hufanga* or *fale hufanga*) (p. 300). A sanctuary which was violated by pursuers of a fugitive was spoken of as "leaky." For a detailed discussion of the physical features of sanctuaries, see McKern (42).

By far the most famous sanctuary in the whole kingdom was Fanakava, which, however, differed from the others in that it was only a green (*malae*) upon which there were no buildings, but only a few *ovava* trees. Fanakava was situated near the present Catholic graveyard of Loma in Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's residence in Tongatabu. Adjacent to the green of Fanakava was the tract called Fiehua in which was situated the house of the god Finautauiku. This house was also a sanctuary for fugitives.

Fanakava was the only place of its kind in all Tonga, being not merely the green of the Tui Tonga, but possessing peculiar traditional status as a place of refuge under the power of the Tui Tonga. No god was associated with it, nor was there a priest or other person associated with it in any official capacity. The green, however, was sometimes used by the Tui Tonga for kava parties. It is said that Fanakava was not even surrounded by a fence, but was a wholly open green. There is reputed to be also a Fanakava [775] in Pulotu, the unseen world, of which the earthly Fanakava in Tongatabu is a duplicate.

In the island of Haano in Haapai is a tract called Fanakava occupied by the temple of the deity Hikuleo (p. 291). This and the fact that there is a mythical Fanakava in Hikuleo's realm of Pulotu raises the question as to whether the Fanakava in Lapaha was not really associated with that deity, especially since Hikuleo was the reputed patroness of the Tui Tonga. The word Fanakava occurs quite often as a place name in Tonga (25, p. 56). [103]

Most sanctuaries had enclosing fences, within which was situated the [346] house of the presiding deity, the house being occupied by the officiating priest or priestess.

Another especially famous sanctuary was that of the god Tui Haa 776 Fakafanua, at Maufanga, Tongatabu, one of the three principal sanctuaries 778 which had the reputation of being non-leaky. By one informant this sanctuary with its presiding deity was regarded as subsidiary to the sanctuary of the god Finautauiku at Lapaha. It was said that the Lapaha god, who was a chief amongst the gods, sent the lesser deity, Tui Haa Fakafanua, to preside at Maufanga and to establish there a sanctuary. With the exception of two or three commoners who were buried within the sanctuary at the orders of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, possibly as sacrifices, people were not buried within the enclosure of the sanctuary, according to the matapule

Kama, who was residing in Maufanga in 1921. Kama said also that there were no carved images within the sanctuary, and that no god other than Tui Haa Fakafanua presided there. 778 [776]

When Vahai's army came to Maufanga (about 1800), all the people had fled to the bush, leaving one cat, which Vahai took. He burnt the houses and the temple and the sanctuary of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua. Later when the chief Fakafanua refused to become a Christian, Taufaahau also burned Maufanga, including temple and sanctuary. Fakafanua had removed his people to Pea, as he thought he could not withstand Taufaahau at Maufanga. He removed all in a double vessel (*kalia*) to Pea at the suggestion of the chief Lavaka of Pea. This was presumably on the occasion of the siege of Pea in 1852. 778 669 [797] [722]

Another famous sanctuary, with which is connected a remarkable story of devotion (p. 300), was that of the god Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga. Other sanctuaries of less importance but still worthy of mention were situated on the island of Ofu, Vavau, at Makave, at Feletoa, and at Tofoa, all in Vavau. The sanctuary at Makave bore the high sounding name Tongamopulotu (Tonga and Pulotu). All of these Vavau sanctuaries had surrounding fences and each had within it the house of the presiding deity and priest. 778

SACRED ANIMALS

Of the various sacred animals of the Tongan deities, only one, the flying fox, seems still to maintain a certain degree of sanctity, and in only one specific locality, the village of Kolovai, in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. They are regarded as connected with the chief Ata rather than with the whole Haa Ngata Motua. Ata stated to me that the flying foxes and the flying fox god Pekapekaatama were not always connected with the Ata chieftainship, but that they were formerly sacred to the matapule Ula. They were transferred to Ata in the time of the great-grandfather of the present Ata. Ata thinks this transfer took place after Christianity had been established and was made "just for fun." Collocott, however, thinks that the transfer had been made in pre-Christian times. 778 825 776

Collocott (9, p. 230) gives a brief account of the flying fox god. The chief Ata may not shoot the flying foxes, but Tungi and Albert Tupou, who are *fahu* to Kolovai may do so if they wish. [604]

At this time it is difficult to say to what extent similar tapus for other sacred animals were observed in antiquity. A shellfish called *fuhu* was said also to be sacred to Ata, being at times the incarnation of a god, whose name I did not learn.

Other sacred animals of importance were the white tern sacred to Aloalo, the gecko sacred to Tui Haa Fakafanua, the shark sacred to Taufa, the octopus sacred to Haele Feke, the dog sacred to Pulotu Katoa, the fruit dove sacred to Kafoiaatu, and the herons sacred to Sisi and Faingaa.

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778
seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825
his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776
water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778
cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [171]
of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is
not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can
be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural
or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778
multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776
god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and departed [775]
relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784]
tupui otua or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct
displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's conduct. 778
Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428]
another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian,
especially a clergyman (*faifekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who
is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God.
A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777]
of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being
manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term
mofi (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god,
which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offerings, [776]
was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other [782]
informants said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A [777]
person who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term
based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem mana) means anger. If 778
a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753
be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593]
by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably
the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative.
Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

> If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he 778
> will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," 753
> meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall 554
> sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of mana)
> of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another [593]
> will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from
> Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking [755]
> the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoei* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the 778
god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a 411
spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

> Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability 778
to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the 755
mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. 775
Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called 774
laumalie for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoifie* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem 774
to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours,
but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *laumalie* 775
is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a [787]
relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In [565]
modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the [178]
basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

breaker. An example of such a tapu is the placing of a shark, or other 784
fish, emblem upon a tree in a plantation, with the penalty that the tapu breaker will be devoured by a shark or other savage fish, the representative of a god such as Taufaitahi. I noted these tapu signs, as well as those used by medical practitioners in both Eua and Nomuka islands.

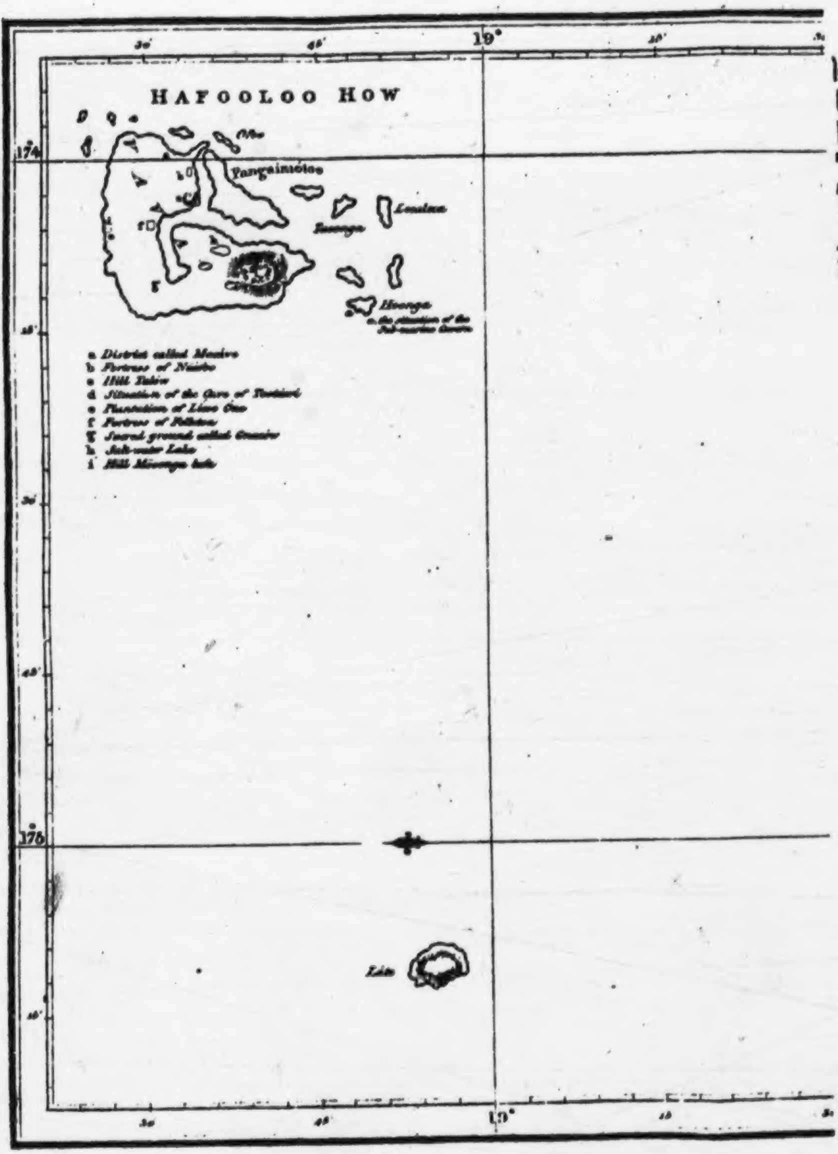
The tapus placed by medical practitioners consist of leaf or coconut fiber 784
(*kaka*) bundles containing pulverized leaves, which are attached to trees or 753
hung on sticks or fences. (I saw one on a barbed wire fence.) To defy this tapu is to become afflicted with boils or some other ailment. The tapu tree is called *taungatapu* (tapu roost), and this practice by which thieves are said to be accursed is called *tuki*. The following note by Mr. W. H. Murley refers to this practice of *tuki*:

> All Tongans are more or less doctors (of a sort), but every family has a specific 756
> for some particular disease—there is no general doctor amongst them. For instance, 759
> one family will have the gift of curing wounds or stopping bleeding merely by touch. Others again are specialists in strains and so on. But nearly every disease 753
> that they cannot describe as either a break, strain, wound, or cramps comes under the general heading of *hangatamaki*. The nearest translations are "boil and ulcer," but the term is applied to both internal and external complaints. For example, rheumatism and ordinary boils on the skin are both classed as *hangatamaki*. Each particular 756
> kind has its separate doctor and although another person might use the same specifics 759
> the effect will not be produced. All this preamble is necessary to explain the tapu. 784
> If a farmer is tired of having the coconuts stolen off his plantation and is desirous of
> having them tapu, he will go to a man who has the reputation of curing a certain 756
> *hangatamaki*, say styes on the eyes, and beg him to go along to his plantation (*api*) 753
> and tapu the coconuts. With this end in view the doctor will make up a few packages 685
> containing odds and ends and hang them in conspicuous positions on various coconut trees. From that time on the plantation is tapu and should anyone, even the owner, take coconuts away, or even touch one he will be afflicted with that particular *hangatamaki* and will have to go to the one who put on the tapu in order to get cured. When the sufferer is cured he will bring along a substantial present to the doctor in payment for services. The tapu is only taken off at the wish of the owner, who, accompanied by the one who put it on, goes and takes down the packages from the various trees.

The term *sausau* was given by one informant as another word that 784
applies both to the concrete object attached to the tree or other property 753
and to the curse or malediction accompanying it and falling upon the tapu 685
breaker, who becomes subject to the curse of the one who put up the tapu badge. By another informant *sausau* was listed as one of several tapus
and "sickness." The others are *tapuofe* (to bend under a load), *mahangalei* [164]
(twins, one of each sex), *kahipapalangi* (*kahi*, goiter; *papalangi*, European), *hulupa*, and *kahitoto*.

According to Methodist informants, a Free Church minister in Faleloa, 784
Foa Island, Haapai, at the time of my visit was engaged in the lucrative side line of tapuing coconut trees against rats, banana patches against horses,
and yam plantations against pigs. White calico consecrated by contact with [778]
the Bible was the tapu emblem employed. The reputation for efficacy

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9


HAFOOLOO HOW
Pangaimotoo
Hooonga
a District called
b Fortress of
c Hill
d Situation of the Cave of
e Plantation of
f Fortress of
g Sacred ground called
h Salt-water Lake
i Hill
19°
30'
45'
174°
175°

102
131
133
712
778
241
285
721

[FACING p. 1-A]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9

102
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133
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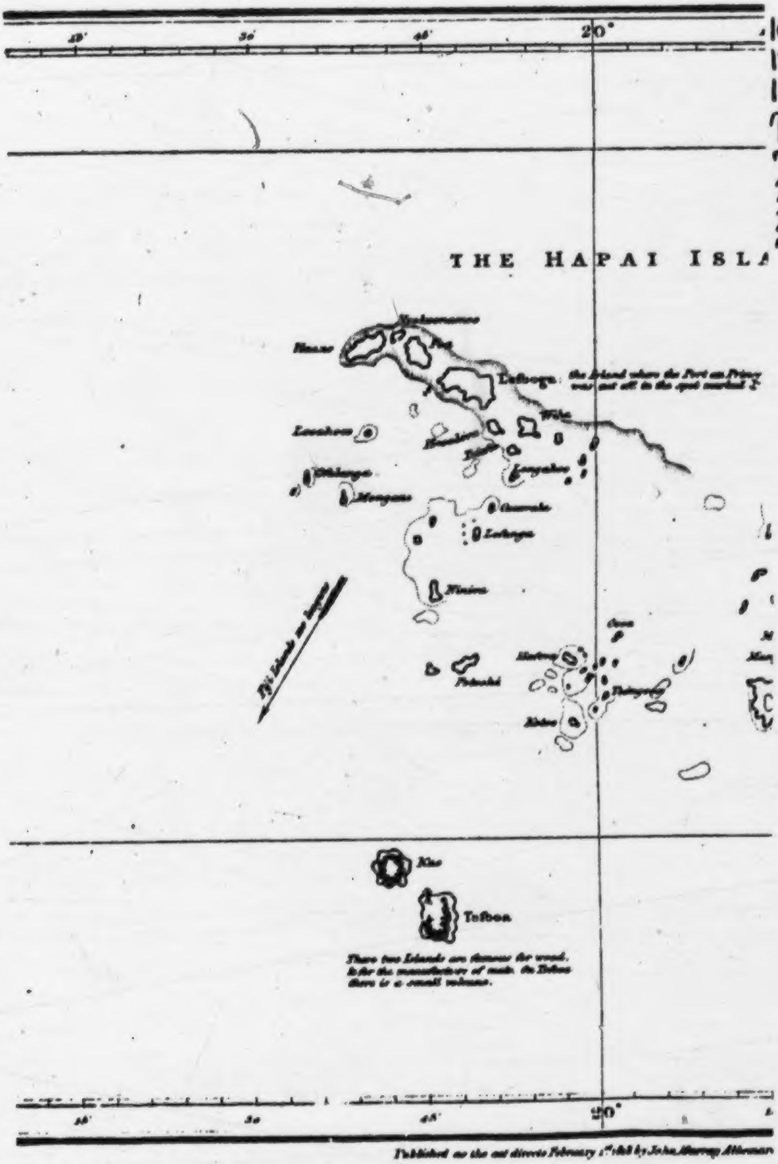
15'
30'
45'
20°
THE HAPAI ISLA
Lefooga
Wiha
Tonga
Hano
Oo
Kao
Tofooa
30
45'
20°

the Island where the Port au Prince was cut off in the spot marked

These two Islands are famous for wood, & for the manufactory of mats. On Tofooa there is a small volcano.

Published as the act directs February 1st 1818 by John Murray Albemar

[FACING p. 1-B]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9

102
133
131
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778
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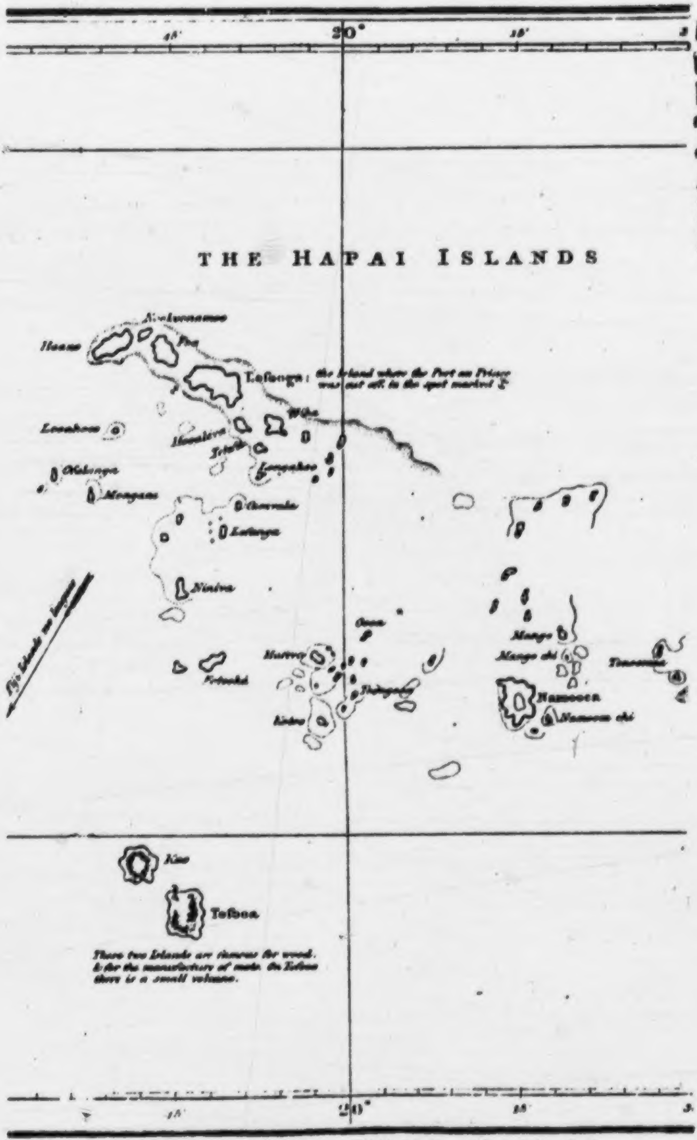
THE HAPAI ISLANDS
20°
45'
15'
Foa
Lefooga
Namooca
Namooca chi
Mango
Mango chi
Kao
Tofooa
These two Islands are famous for wood, & for the manufactory of mats. On Tofooa there is a small volcano.

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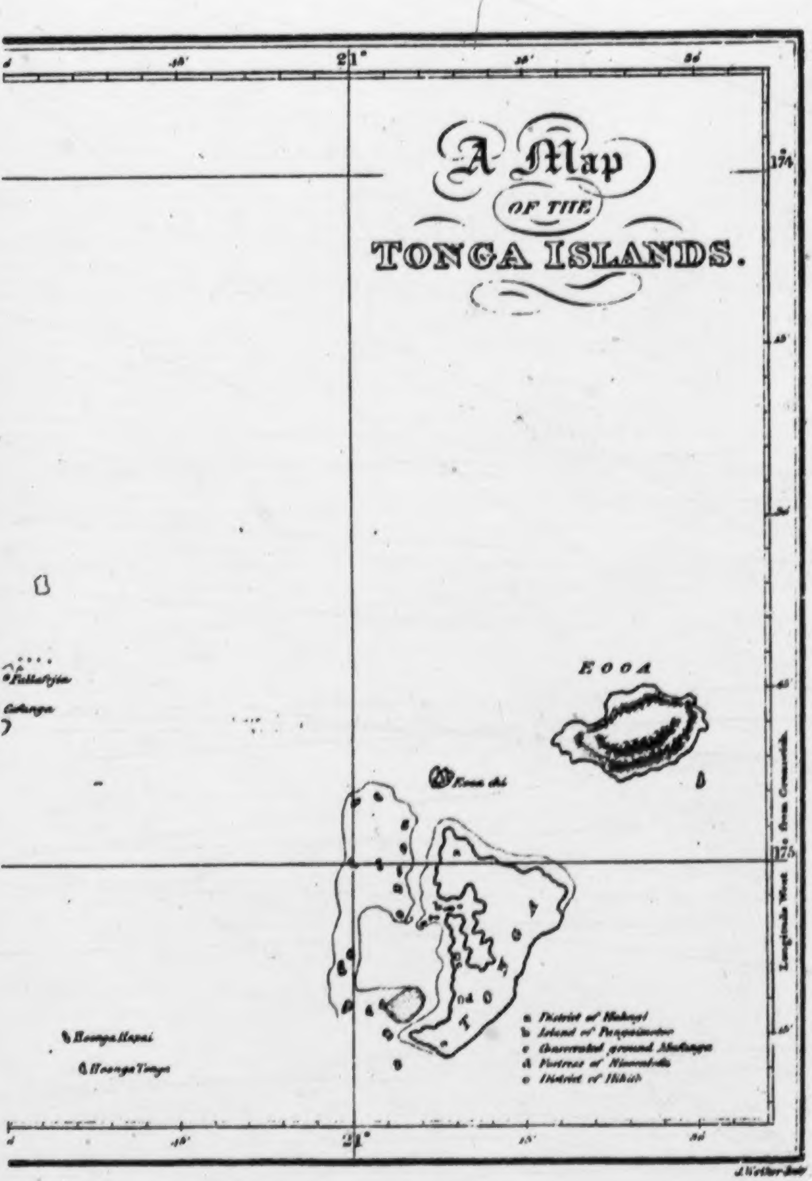
[FACING P. 1-C]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 OU9 Tonga OU9


A Map
OF THE
TONGA ISLANDS.
21°
30'
174
175
Longitude West from Greenwich
EOOA
Eooa chi
Hoonga Hapai
Hoonga Tonga
a District of Hahagi
b Island of Pangaimotoo
c Consecrated ground Mafanga
d Fortress of Nioocalofa
e District of Hihifo
J. Walker Sculp

102
131
133
712
778
241
285
721

[FACING P.1-D]

669 had another review like the former; and after
726 remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of
[716] the forces of the confederate islands, amounting
in all to about one hundred and seventy canoes,
direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to the calmness of the weather, they did not reach their destination the same evening in sufficient time to land, but went on shore at a small island close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed the night.

Before morning, several presents were
778 brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people
[634] living at a consecrated place on the island of
[431] Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece
of ground about half a mile square, situated on
[766] the western part of the island. In this spot are
the graves where the greatest chiefs from time
[764] immemorial have been buried, and the place is therefore considered sacred; it would be a sacrilege to fight here, and nobody can be prevented from landing: if the most inveterate enemies meet upon this ground, they must look upon each other as friends, under penalty of the displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an untimely death, or some great misfortune. There
726 are several of these consecrated places on different
669 ent islands.

634 The following morning, Finow with several
796 of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-
769

669 which he meant to reside during his stay: the
Vavaoo people were forbidden to carry any
offensive weapons, whilst those of Hapai were
ordered to be under arms, and to keep themselves
on the alert.

634 Two or three days after this funeral ceremony,
the king summoned a private meeting
[641] in his presence of the chiefs of Hapai, and those
of Vavaoo, when the latter swore allegiance to
[782] Finow with their hands placed upon a consecrated
bowl *, whilst cava was being mixed in
[276] it, invoking the god, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, to
[415] whom the bowl was consecrated, and praying
him to punish them with untimely death if
they should afterwards break their vow, or harbour
any thoughts to that intent. The cava
was then shared out, and the king informed the
Vavaoo chiefs, that thenceforth they were to
consider Toe Oomoo, (his aunt), as their lawful
chief, and to pay respect to her as such, at
her cava ceremonies: they accordingly promised
all due submission and obedience to
their newly appointed chief; after which the

---

* The bowl is held consecrated because it is kept on pur-
[778] pose to make cava in, for the ceremonies of that god only
(Tooi fooa Bolotoo), being used on no other occasion. If
[565] a great chief takes an oath, he swears by the god, (laying
his hand upon the consecrated bowl); if an inferior chief
takes an oath, he swears by his superior relation, who, of
course, is a greater chief, and lays his hand upon his feet.

669 728 might think of him, that was the object which
634 was nearest his heart. No sooner did the Vavaoo
[431] warrior hear this unexpected declaration,
than he pulled off his turban, and taking a
[576] piece of cava root, went on board Finow's canoe,
and, having presented the cava to the
king, he kissed his feet as a mark of respect.
The king then dismissed him, desiring him to
relate to his chiefs the object of his coming,
and that he should the same evening, if they
would permit him, pass on to Neafoo *, to leave
cava there, and the following morning proceed
to the fortress, to adjust terms of peace. As
soon as the warrior departed with his message,
[796] Finow directed his course up an inlet to Neafoo,
where he arrived and landed without any
opposition, and, having left cava with the usual
ceremony (see p. 89), he returned on board,
and passed the night in another branch of the
inlet leading up to the fortress; towards which,
early the following morning, he proceeded with
[577] the three canoes. At first, he intended to land
in person, and ascend the hill to address the
garrison; but from this he was dissuaded by
his chiefs: he then determined to go near to

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[778] * Neafoo is situated on the N. E. shore of Vavaoo, and is a consecrated place, like Mafánga, formerly described, where the ceremony of Tooge was performed. At Neafoo are several houses consecrated to different gods.

669 had been detained partly by contrary winds,
724 and partly by the people going to visit their
relatives at different islands.

It has already been mentioned, more than
778 once, that places, which have been consecrated
726 either by express declaration, or by the burial
688 of great chiefs, are forbidden to be the scene of
war, and that it would be highly sacrilegious to
attack an enemy, or spill his blood within their
669 confines. This circumstance, however, occurred
726 a few days after the dispute about the female
prisoners; the particulars of it are as follow:
778 Palavali (brother of Havili), went out one day
688 on a foraging party with six men in two small
canoes, and landed near a consecrated inclosure,
called Gnacao, one of the most fertile places in
the whole island. Here they met with four of
the enemy, who, perceiving their inferiority,
made an endeavour to get into the consecrated
place, where they would have been perfectly
safe: Palavali, however, seeing their intention,
got between them and the fencing, when one of
the enemy made a bold push to pass his antagonist, and scramble over the reed-work, and
had actually got one leg over, when Palavali
struck him a furious blow on the head, and
felled him dead within the place; seeing now
what he had done, he was struck with fear, and
ran away to the canoes, followed by his men,

Hapai islands, when he received his long 634
wished-for present; but he made no use of it 223
till about three weeks afterwards, when he had
returned to Vavaoo. In the mean time Maccapapa, 669
Lolo hea Bibigi, and three others, all
chiefs and warriors, secretly left Vavaoo, and
sailed for Tonga, to join Taky', chief of the
fortress of Bea (who formerly burnt Finow's
fortress of Nioocalofa in so treacherous a manner).
They took this step, being apprehensive
that the king might hereafter wreak his vengeance
on them for fighting against him: the
sequel will show how far their apprehensions
were well grounded.

Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, 313
Mr. Mariner accompanied the prince to the 727
island of Tofooa, to procure iron-wood, which
is found there in great abundance. The prince 313
first obtained leave from Tooitonga, (the divine 634
chief,) for this island is his property, and 778
therefore considered sacred; besides, it is supposed 825
to be the residence of the sea gods, and
on this account the people firmly believe that
no sharks will hurt a man who is swimming
near upon its coast, but, on the contrary, swim
round him, and even pass so close as to touch
him, without shewing the least hungry disposition.
Mr. Mariner, however, never had an [727]

319 opportunity of witnessing the miraculous abstinence
634 of this sort of fish.

778 On the island of Tofooa there is a small volcano,
825 situated near the northern extremity,
727 from which smoke almost constantly issues, and
pumice-stones are very frequently thrown out.
133 An eruption of flame takes place, sometimes
twice or thrice a week, and at other times
scarcely once in two months, and generally
133 lasts from one to two or three days. The way
727 to the top is extremely difficult; but Mr. Mariner,
taking one of the natives of the island
for a guide, resolved to ascend it. They began
the ascent early in the morning, and, although
their progress was much impeded by the quantity
of loose pumice-stone, and often rendered
very dangerous, they reached the top in about
four hours. There was at this time no eruption
of flame, which had ceased a few hours
before, after having lasted three days; smoke
there was, however, in abundance, but which
did not much annoy them, as they were on the
windward side: sundry explosions were also
heard from within, like the noise of water
being thrown upon burning pitch. The crater
133 was about thirty feet diameter. Whilst they
727 were here, Mr. Mariner took care not to let
578 his companion approach too near, lest he might

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XII.

000 Finow's younger daughter falls sick—Petitions to the gods—Farther account of the mode of invocation—Finow's illness—Debate among the gods respecting Finow—This debate causes thunder and lightning—Supposed effect of Finow's illness and recovery on his daughter—His daughter conveyed to the island of Ofoo—Her death—Ceremony of her burial—Strange custom of the people of Hamoa—Finow's illness—Petitions to the gods—Strangulation of a child in the way of sacrifice—Finow's death—Political state of the Tonga islands, occasioned by this event—Grief of Finow's daughter—Mr. Mariner rebuked by the prince for his grief at Finow's death—Suspicious conduct of Voona—Consultation of the god Toobo Toty—Report of what had been Finow's intentions previous to his death—The prince consults with his uncle on matters of political government relative to his succession.

593 SHORTLY after Toobó Malóhi and his followers
634 had departed for the Hapai islands, Finow's
758 younger daughter, named *Sáw-aw mái Lolángi*
[551] (which, in the Hamoa language, means de-
[778] scended from the sky), about six or seven years
[776] of age, fell sick; on which occasion she was
removed from her father's house to another
inside a fencing, consecrated to Tali-y-Toobo,
755 the patron god of the *Haws*. Almost every
782 morning a hog was killed, dressed, and pre-
634
593

755 "cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 "merciless! dost thou not see here *Finów*,—
634 "and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from
599 "ancient Tonga chiefs now in Bolótoo;—and "is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from "*Moomooe* formerly How of Tonga;—and is "not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then "why art thou merciless?" (spoken in rather an impatient and peremptory tone) "have regard "for Finow, and save the life of his daughter."

Every morning, as before stated, for about a fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the god, and addresses were made similar to the above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their prayers unavailing, they took her to another fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to *Too'i foo'a Bolo'too.* Here the same ceremonies were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter get-
782 ting worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,
599 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
[787] sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged
[776]

to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accustomed 755
to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobó Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 593
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 793
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the consecrated 776
house where the sick child lay, but wherever [484]
the priest happened to be, which was generally [778]
at his own house or at Finow's. It must [565]
here be remarked that those gods who have
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired
priest wherever he may happen to be: those
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late
instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 793
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest entreaties 634
he scarcely ever made any answer, and 593
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the [276]
following effect; "Why do you weary yourselves [753]
"with entreating me?" (speaking as if
he were the god) "if the power to restore the
"woman rested solely with me, I would do it:
"be assured it is all done by the will of the

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

daughter also to be carried on board; then following 634
himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, 793
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo.* They 787
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went and presented cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 593
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [484]
the sick child was taken to the god's consecrated [276]
house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—"It is
"in vain that you come here to invoke me
"upon a subject on which you have obtained
"all the information that it is necessary for
"you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already instructed
you in the will of the gods, and I
"can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attendants
rose up and went their way. In the 593
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 634
divine vengeance was removed to several other 763
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [155]
hour in each, with the hope that she would derive
benefit from the auspices of either of the
deities, who were imagined to reside in those
places. Removal, however, appeared to make
her worse; and at length she was almost

776 [775] ferior, and have not the power, as the two first have, of coming back to Tonga to inspire the priests, though they are supposed to have the power of appearing to their relatives.

4. The original attendants, or servants, as it were, of the gods, who, although they had their origin, and have ever since existed in Bolotoo, are still inferior to the third class.
5. The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods.
6. Moooi, or the god that supports the earth, and does not belong to Bolotoo.

The first class, or original hotooas, are supposed to be rather numerous, perhaps about three hundred; but the names of very few are known, and those only to some of the chiefs and mataboles; for it may easily be supposed that, where no written records are kept, only those whose attributes particularly concern the affairs of this world should be much talked of; as to the rest, they are, for the most part, merely tutelar gods to particular private families, and having nothing in their history at all interesting, are scarcely known to any body else.

[346] [778] Several of these primitive hotooas have houses dedicated to them; the houses are built in the usual style, but, generally, somewhat more care is taken, both in building them, and keeping

776 tives themselves can give no account; the only
answer they make is, that such is his proper
name. Although he is the god of Bolotoo, he
is inferior to Tali y Toobo, insomuch that they
scarcely make a comparison between them; if
you ask them whether Tooi fooa Bolotoo is a
great god, they will answer, "Yes, he is a very
"great god." "Is Tali y Toobo a greater
"god?" "Yes, much greater." "How great,
"then, is Tali y Toobo?" "He is a great
"chief, from the top of the sky down to the
565 "bottom of the earth!" He[A] is also the god of
rank in society, and in this quality he is often
782 invoked by the heads of great families, as the
king, and other great nobles, on occasion of
778 sickness, or other family troubles. He has
several houses dedicated to him; three or four
at Vavaoo, one at Lefooga, and a few at other
islands. He has three or four priests, whom
793 he occasionally inspires; at least Mr. Mariner
787 is acquainted with three or four, but perhaps
there are others.

Higooleo (no literal meaning that we can
643 discover, unless *igoo leo*, to guard the tail); a
very high god, regarded principally by Tooi-
793 tonga's family. He has no priest, nor any
778 house, and is supposed never to come to Tonga.
The natives are uncertain about his attributes.

634 Toobo Toty, literally, *Toobo the mariner*.

A [the god Too'i fooa Bolo'too--Analyst]

them in good order, decorating their inclosures 776
with flowers, &c. About twenty of the gods 346
have houses thus consecrated to them, some 778
having five or six, others one or two. The following
are the names and attributes of the principal 776
gods.

TA'LI-Y-TOOBO'; (the literal meaning of this
name, from which nothing can be deduced, is
Wait there, Toobo!) He is the patron of the How [643]
and his family, not of Finow in particular, who [634]
is the present king, but of any one who may be
king. He is also god of war, and is consequently
always invoked in time of war by the How's
party: in time of peace he is also occasionally
invoked for the general good of the nation, as
well as for the particular interest and welfare
of the How's family. He has four houses dedicated [346]
to him in the island of Vavaoo; two at
the small island of Lefooga, one at Haano, one
at Wiha, and two or three others of smaller importance
elsewhere. He has no priest, unless [793]
it be the How himself, whom he sometimes inspires: [643]
but it has happened that a How, during [634]
his whole reign, has not been inspired. [787]

TOO'I FOOA BOLO'TOO; the literal meaning of
this is, "*Chief of all Bolotoo*;" from this name
one would suppose him to be the greatest god
in Bolotoo, but he is inferior to the one before
mentioned; how he came by this name the na-

He is the patron of Finow's family, also the god 776
of voyages: in the first quality he is often in- [634]
voked by Finow; in the second quality he is
often invoked by chiefs, going upon any mari-
time expedition; also by any body in a canoe
during a voyage. He is not the god of wind, [778]
but is supposed to have great inflence with that
god; his chief power is extended to the pre-
servation of canoes from accidents: this god
has several houses dedicated to him, chiefly at
Vavaoo and the contiguous isles. Mr. Mariner [793]
only knew one priest belonging to him, but he,
perhaps, has several. It will be recollected, in 634
the former part of the history, at the time when 793
Finow's daughter was so ill, that this priest, 787
when inspired, foretold that either Finow or his
daughter must die, as decreed in Bolotoo: in 763
consequence, Finow, after his daughter's death, 661
was so exasperated with his god, Toobo Toty', 784
for not making arrangements among the gods
more favourable to him, that he vowed to kill
his priest: this sacrilegious intention was, however, prevented by his own death, which happened as a judgment on him, according to the
people's notions. Vide vol. 1.[A]

ALA'I VA'LOO; (*Alai*, no discoverable mean- 776
ing; *Valoo*, the number eight); a god that pa-
tronizes the How's family, but is particularly 634
the patron god of Tóe Oomoo, the late king's
aunt. This god is now and then invoked by

[A] [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

776 the king's family, but very frequently by Tóe
[634] Oomoo. He A has a large consecrated fencing
at Ofoo, one of the islands in the vicinity of
[778] Vavaoo: he has, at least, one priest, and is
[793] very frequently consulted in behalf of sick per-
[787] sons.

[755] A'LO A'LO; literally, *to fan.* God of wind
and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in
776 general. This god is generally invoked about
821 once a month, if the weather is seasonable, that
it may remain so; if the weather is unseasonable,
or destructive on shore by excessive wind
or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is
not the god of thunder and lightning, of which,
indeed, there is no god acknowledged among
them, as this phenomenon is never recollected
to have done any mischief of consequence. In
boisterous weather at sea, the superior god
Toobo Toty', the protector of canoes, and other
sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo
776 A'lo. About the time when the yams are full
796 grown (near the latter end of December), the
ceremony of *tow tow* begins, consisting in an
241 offering of yams, and other provisions, to the
god A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every
ten days, for eight times successively, as will be
described under the head of religious rites.
776 This god has only two houses dedicated to him,
778 one at Vavaoo, and the other at Lefooga: he
793 has also two priests, one at each place.

A [the god Ala'i Va'loo--Analyst]

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Too'i Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo.* 776
This and the three following gods are all minor 823
gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors 734
of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name, he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before him; but much upon an equality with the three following. He has two houses dedicated to him 778
at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere 793
that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps, two or three priests.

Ha'la A'pi A'pi; literally, *a road crowded.* He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo. Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to 778
him. He has one priest. 793

To'gi Oocumme'a; literally, *an iron axe.* The same attributes as the above.

Toobo' Boo'goo; literally, *Toobo the Short.* The same attributes as the above.

Tangalo'a; god of artificers and the arts: 778
doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him: 793
has several priests, who are all carpenters. It 322
was this god that brought the Tonga islands 773
from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of Egies, or Nobles: of these there 775
must be a vast number. Their attributes are 769
similar to those of the primitive chief gods: 787

775 they have the power of inspiring priests, and of
769 appearing in dreams and visions to their relatives
[787] and others. They have no houses dedicated
to them, but the proper places to invoke
[778] them are their graves, which are considered
sacred, and are therefore as much respected as
775 consecrated houses. Their names are the same
as they had whilst living, and they hold the
776 same rank mutually among themselves as they
[784] held during their mortal existence; and whether
their deeds were good or evil during their life,
is a circumstance that does not at all affect their
state in Bolotoo, all punishments for crimes
being supposed to be inflicted by the primitive
gods upon men during their lifetime; in which
inflictions the second class of gods have a proportional
[821] power with the first. As many of
these souls of nobles have had strong warlike
dispositions in this world, it might be supposed
that they waged war against one another in
Bolotoo; but this is not the case, for, in that
state of existence, their understanding is much
more clear than in this world, enabling them to
discern what is right, and disposing them to
choose it in preference to what is wrong: not
but what they, and even the primitive gods,
have verbal disputes, but which, from the clearness
of their intellect, and the justice of their
views, are supposed to be managed with divine

temperance; but as the temperate discussion of 775
gods may appear awful violence to weak-minded 776
man, so it is not to be wondered that such disputes
at Bolotoo should produce thunder and 821
lightning at Tonga; as happened in the discussion
among the gods respecting the fate of Finow
and his daughter. (Vide vol. 1.[A])

The Souls of Matabooles come next: of 775
these little need be said; they hold the same
name and rank as during their life. They have 781
not the power of inspiring priests; they cannot 782
punish nor reward mankind, at least by any direct 769
influence; though their friends and relatives
sometimes beg their intercession with
the higher gods, in behalf of their health, or
prosperity, &c. They have no houses dedicated 778
to them; they sometimes appear to their friends.
Some of them are tutelar gods, and protectors
of the *tooas*, or lower orders, which they are, as
it were, by permission.

The Attendants, or Servants of the Primitive 776
Gods. These, like the gods to whom
they belong, are original inhabitants of Bolotoo.
They are considered of less quality than the
souls of matabooles. They have no power in
Tonga, and if they go there they cannot manifest
themselves. Their number is supposed to
be immense.

The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous Gods.—

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number,
but only five or six are supposed to be particularly
active; and from their disposition to
plague mankind, they reside more frequently at
[171] Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of
being the cause of all the petty inconveniences
and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Navigator's
islands), they have an idea which is
very convenient to the reputation of the females,
that some of these *hotooa pow* molest
them in their sleep, in consequence of which
there are many supernatural conceptions: at
Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to
[793] that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests,
[778] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they
ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life,
[782] as before noticed, are special inflictions from
[784] the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the
[828] mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are
for their own whim and delight; they lead travellers
astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump
upon their backs in the dark, cause the nightmare
and frightful dreams. They are never
seen.

Móooi—A god that supports the earth, the
[823] earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This,
as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being,
greater in personal bulk than any of the others.
[781] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

his situation. He has no house dedicated to 776
him. When an earthquake happens, it is sup- 787
posed that this god, feeling himself in an un-
easy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself 778
about; and, on such occasions, the people give 823
loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who can
go there and see? 565

Such is the account they give of their gods, 161
and the respect which they pay to these ima- 771
ginary beings is so great and so universal, that
scarcely any instance is known of downright 784
impiety; and indeed they have very strong mo- 753
tives to keep them in proper order in this re- 763
spect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

577 have no word to express humanity, mercy, &c.
192 but *ofa*, which rather means friendship, and is
a word of cordial salutation: neither have they
any word expressive of chastity, except *nofomow*,
remaining fixed or faithful, and which in
this sense is only applied to a married woman,
to signify her fidelity to her husband; but in
another sense it is applicable to a warrior, to
signify his loyalty and attachment to his chief.
577 Farthermore, when we learn that theft, revenge,
673 rape, and murder, under many circumstances,
are not held to be crimes, we shall be tempted
to exclaim, How miserable are these wretched
people! the virtues have left their abode, and
they are given up a prey to every evil passion!
The picture is indeed dark, but we must throw
a little more light upon it, and approach to take
a nearer view.

The Tonga people do not indeed believe in
776 any future state of rewards and punishment, but
778 they believe in that first of all religious tenets,
775 that there is a power and intelligence superior
to all that is human, which is able to control
their actions, and which discovers all their most
secret thoughts; and though they consider this
power and intelligence to be inherent in a number
of individual beings, the principle of belief
is precisely the same; it is perhaps equally
strong, and as practically useful as if they con-

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sidered it all concentrated in their chief god. 776
They firmly believe that the gods approve of 778
virtue, and are displeased with vice; that every 775
man has his tutelar deity, who will protect him
as long as he conducts himself as he ought to 784
do; but, if he does not, will leave him to the 753
approaches of misfortune, disease, and death. 761
And here we find some ground on which to 577
establish a virtuous line of conduct: but this is not sufficient: there is implanted in the human breast a knowledge or sentiment which enables us sometimes, if not always, to distinguish between the beauty of disinterestedness and the foul ugliness of what is low, sordid, and selfish; and the effect of this sentiment is one of the strongest marks of character in the natives of these islands. Many of the chiefs, on being asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had for conducting themselves with propriety, besides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied, the agreeable and happy feeling which a man experiences within himself when he does any good action, or conducts himself nobly and generously, as a man ought to do: and this question they answered as if they wondered such a question should be asked. After this, we cannot but suppose (unless we are led by prejudice), that the seeds of very great virtues are implanted in their breasts; and it would be very unrea-

276 ther more. No chief comes to an inferior
574 chief's cava party, or, if any extraordinary circumstance
565 was to make this necessary, the inferior
would be obliged to retire to his own exterior
276 circle, and the superior visitor would preside:
574 for the greatest chief present must always
565 preside, unless there be an inspired priest, then
576 *he* sits at the head of the circle, and the greatest
[793] chief in company, who would otherwise have
[787] that honourable situation, now retires, with
other chiefs, to the exterior circle, not out of
respect to the priest, who may be only a mooa,
but out of veneration to the god supposed to
exist within him; so that the superior circle, in
such a case, consists principally of matabooles
and mooas; for chiefs may be looked upon as
distant relations to the gods, and no person
may sit in the upper circle along with his superior
relation; besides it is an act of humility
[796] demonstrating great respect. When a priest
presides, which is the case at all religious ceremonies,
except where they are consulting
a god who has no priest*, the latter always

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[776] * When a god has no priest, as Tali-y-Toobó, for instance, no person actually presides at the head of his cava circle, the place being left apparently vacant, but which, it is supposed, [778] the god invisibly occupies. On such occasions the cava party is always held before the house consecrated to the god: (as in the commencement of the illness of Finow's daughter.) And they go through the usual form of words, as if the first

has the first cup; the presiding mataboole, 276
not actually officiating, has the second; the 574
third, fourth, fifth, and perhaps sixth cups, are 565
given to the next higher persons in the superior 576
circle; and then the chiefs who have retired to 796
the exterior circle are, out of respect, helped;
but this rests at the option of the officiating
mataboole; afterwards the remainder of the
superior circle are served.

At smaller cava parties, the forms and words 276
of ceremony are precisely the same; but when 574
a priest does not preside, familiar conversation,
and even joke and merriment, are indulged
in. On all occasions every individual pays the [291]
greatest attention to his dress, that it be de-
corous and well tied on, that is, with neatness*.

We have been particular in the description of 796
the ceremony of preparing and drinking this in- 128

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cup was actually filled and presented to the god: thus, [776]
before any cup is filled, the man by the side of the bowl says, [778]
Cava gooa léca, The cava is deposited (in the cup): the mataboole answers, *Angi ma ho egi,* Give it to your god; but this is mere form, for there is no cup filled for the god.

[*] Some of our readers will perhaps find some difficulty in believing this, but nothing is more true than that the Tonga people of any degree of rank are very particular in regard of their personal cleanliness and neatness of dress; insomuch that a man will often refuse to join a neighbouring cava party, because the *gnatoo* which he happens to have on may not be so new or so good as he could wish.

766 cred ground in which he was buried should re-
765 main polluted.

[514] For one month, from the day of burial,
greater or less quantities of provisions are
766 brought every day, and shared out to the peo-
765 ple. On the first day a prodigious quantity is
261 supplied; but on every succeeding day a less
quantity, gradually decreasing till the last,
when, comparatively, a very small portion is
[784] brought. The expenditure, and we may say
waste of provisions, is, however, so great, as to
require a *tàboo* to be laid on certain kinds of
provisions, (see Vol. I. p. 112), which lasts
about eight or ten months; and at the end of
that time the ceremony of *fuccalahi* is performed
to remove it.

784 **Tá'boo.**—This word has various shades of
signification: it means sacred or consecrated
to a god, having the same signification as *fucca
égi:* it means prohibited or forbidden, and is ap-
plied not only to the thing prohibited, but to
the prohibition itself, and frequently (when it
is in sacred matters), to the person who breaks
784 the prohibition. Thus if a piece of ground or
a house be consecrated to a god, by express
778 declaration, or the burial of a great chief, it is
said to be *tàboo*; the like if a canoe be conse-
crated, which is frequently done, that it may
be more safe in long voyages, &c. As it is

As it is
forbidden to quarrel or fight upon consecrated 784
ground, so fighting in such a place would be 778
said to be *táboo,* and those that fought would 578
be said also to be *táboo*; and a man who is thus 782
táboo would have to make some sacrifice to the 783
gods as an atonement for the sacrilege, as instanced
in Palavali's case. (See Vol. I. p. 216.)
If a man be guilty of theft, or any crime whatsoever, 784
he is said to have broken the *táboo;* and 685
as all such persons are particularly supposed 825
liable to be bitten by sharks, an awkward mode 695
of discovering a thief is founded upon this notion,
by making all the suspected persons go
into the water, where sharks frequent, and he
who is bitten or devoured is looked upon as
the guilty person. If any one touches a superior 784
chief, or superior relation, or any thing [576]
immediately belonging to him, he *táboos* himself;
but this is not supposed to produce any
bad consequence, unless he feeds himself with
his own hands, without first removing this
táboo, which is to be done by performing the
ceremony of *mŏĕ-mŏĕ,* directly to be explained.
If a person touches the body of a dead chief, [761]
or any thing personally belonging to him, he
becomes *taboo,* and time alone can relieve him.
(See note, Vol. I. p. 141.) Certain kinds of [262]
food, as turtle, and a certain species of fish,
from something in their nature, are said to be

mony of *móë-móë*, before he will dare feed him- 784
self with his own hands. This ceremony consists 565
in touching the soles of any superior chief's 788
feet with the hands, first applying the palm, then the back of each hand; after which the hands must be rinsed in a little water, or, if there be no water near, they may be rubbed with any part of the stem of the plantain or banana tree, the moisture of which will do instead of washing. He may then feed himself without 264
danger of any disease, which would otherwise 753
happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed hands: but if any one think he may have already (unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he then sits down before a chief, and taking the foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against his own abdomen, that the food which is within him may do him no injury, and that consequently he may not swell up and die: this operation is called *fota*, (i. e. to press.) It is tabooed 784
also to eat when a superior relation is present, 264
unless the back is turned towards him: for 565
when a person's back is turned towards another, 516
that other may be said, in one sense, not to be in his presence: also to eat food which a superior relation or chief has touched; and if either of these *tàboos* is accidentally infringed upon, the ceremony of *fota* must be performed.
If any one is tabooed by touching the person 784
649
415
778

784 or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other
643 chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no
415 chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the
778 inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated
bowl (or some such thing), belonging
to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead
of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga
always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which
dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.
784 Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava,
276 either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed
by the touch of any chief of what rank
soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava
which even Tooitonga has touched.

Toogoo Ca'va. This ceremony consists in
796 merely leaving a small piece of cava root before
782 a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to
276 a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or relation,
788 at the same time the ceremony of *toogi*
or beating the cheeks is performed, as related
(Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed
at burials, is of a more serious nature.

Lotoo is the term used for praying; but it
782 is more commonly applied to prayers offered up
in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to
Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It
will be also recollected, that prayers are offered
up before consecrated houses and graves.

787 As omens, to which they give a considerable

103 [773] island and refers to the sun, the "eye of day." Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Said to be a new name in Nomuka, after a king's place in Uiha island. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Mataangavaka. A point where boats are sighted [mataanga, a view point; vaka, boat]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Mataano. Edge of a marsh [mata, edge; ano, marsh]. Tract near Havelu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fielakepa, landlord. Also tract near Manuka, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mataau. Old war club [mata, a war club; au, old]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Matafele. Scattered mesh]mata, mesh; fele, to be scattered]. Tract in Malapo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matafonua. Coast. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matafota. Massaged appearance [mata, appearance; fota, to massage]. A place in the sea between Eua and Tongatabu noted for its roughness.

Matafulia. Countenance covered over with rings burnt in the skin [mata, countenance; fulia, to be covered over with rings burnt in the skin.] Tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord.

Matahau. Eyes of the ruler [mata, eyes; hau, the reigning prince]. Tract near Kolomaile, village on Eua island (T). Also village and tracts near villages on Tougatabu island (T): near Hofoa, Alaki—Tui Pelehake, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, Kolonga—Nuku, landlord, Fatumu, Haasini, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Matahauuta. Inland Matahau [uta, inland]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.

Matahila. Eyes looking askant [mata, eyes; hila, to look askant]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Matahina. White edge [mata, edge; hina, white]. Tract near Lolotelie, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V). Also rock between Vavau and Niue islands.

Matahiva. Nine eyes [mata, eyes; hiva, nine]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. A well or spring on this tract was sacred to the gods Tonu and Lahe.

[778] **Matahoata.** Yellow face [mata, face; hoata, yellow]. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Matahunga. Face turned towards [mata, face; hunga, turned towards]. Promontory on Hunga island (V). Eastern end of island.

Mataifisi. To be seen in flower [mata, to be seen; i, in; fisi, to flower]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Mataika. Fish eyes [mata, eyes; ika, fish]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also village on Vavau island (V).

Matalia. Obstinate. Tract near Teekiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuaka, landlord.

Mataimanuka. A clever one murdered [matai, a clever one; manuka, to murder, applied to chiefs]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.

Mataitao. Clever in baking [matai, clever; tao, to bake] Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Matakalai. Hill on Nomuka island (H).

6. A number of localities bear the name Toku. If the island off Vavau is indicated, the wind would be from the north. 539

7. Fakanumuli is a tract near the sea front of Lifuka. Alaimuitoa lies to the west of Fakanamuli. 823 103

8. Velitoa is possibly the pool in which Finau bathed just before the assassination of Tupou Niua (Mariner, vol. 1, p. 129).

9. The meaning of *kumi*, translated cloth, is really a measure of cloth. [192]

10. Tongoleleka (Short mangrove) has become the proper name of a locality in Lifuka, occupied by a large village.

11. Tofua, the lofty volcanic island, and its still loftier neighbor Kao, are about 35 miles to the westward from Lifuka. The shore of Lifuka, about which the latter part of this poem centers gives a fine view of these two mountain islands. The setting sun throws about them wonderful and ever-changing beauties.

12. Tohonakao is the summit of Kao. It is not clear what is meant by "Tohonakao that is peopled." Tofua was inhabited until quite recent times, the people removing because the volcano erupted. People still have their gardens there, and visit them from neighboring islands. But there seems no record of Kao being peopled to its summit. [361] [731]

Page 105. In praise of Vavau

1. Taunga; one of the islands of Vavau; Keila, a locality on Taunga.

2. Tapana, Motuha, and Hunga are islands of Vavau.

3. Pautua is an unidentified locality in Vavau.

4. Vaihingano (Water of hingano flower) is evidently the name of a stream or pool in Vavau. Better known is the stream Vaisingano, near Apia, in Samoa, which is also the name of a Samoan chiefly house (26, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77).

5. Veafakaniua and Kavenga are unidentified localities in Vavau.

6. There is a Faleula in Samoa. This name has been explained by an excellent Tongan informant as equivalent to *falefaiva*, house of dancing.

7. Siaafafine (Mound of women) and Kavafakaua are two pigeon-snaring mounds near Feletoa. [345]

8. The places mentioned in this line seem to be near Feletoa also.

9. The translation of this line is only a conjecture.

10. The localities named in this context are unidentified. Uluipuaka is also given as a correct reading for Tulunipuaka.

11. Toafaoava is an open tract near Haalaufuli (21).

12. The *ngahu* is a shrub that grows on the shore. High-water mark is called *mata-ngahu* (edge of the *ngahu*). [137]

13. Anamanu is near Haalaufuli (21). [192]

14. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. The reference to the "jest of Tongatabu that has been carried too far" is not clear but evidently it is something that makes light of the claims of Kafoa. The jest may have been of the bard himself, as he is a Tongatabu man. One copy would be translated "Tongatabu hath appeared too much"; that is, has been made too much the theme of poetical compositions, overlooking the claims of places like Kafoa. 539 823

15. The word *kafongalu* means literally a wound of breakers, that is, of surf-riding; and so it is applied to a wound given or received in sport or jest. [192]

16. The battle here is the give and take of repartee and joke. "It is fair, the falling in battle."

17. The house in Neiafu is a sanctuary. "If it leak" means if it be unable to afford effective shelter to suppliants because its god is not sufficiently powerful to withstand the gods of their enemies. Ngaakau is a locality in the village of Tefisi, belonging to the chief Luani. Clearly there was a sanctuary there, which is thought to have been associated with the chief Fakafanua. [778]

18. Lahakau is felt in Tonga to be a borrowing from Fiji, where, however, the form Lasakau would be expected. It is said that the districts in Fiji subject to Bau were called Lahakau, and that the people tended gardens, and did other tasks of the kind, for Bau. [192]

Page 105. Weather coast of Vavau

1. This is, in part at least, a love poem. The theme of the lines beginning "The landsman made a complaining" is amorous and many of the localities mentioned have

669 not known to be a woman till she uncovered her breasts after the fighting. Ata is said to have defeated Finau at some time before the battle Faka- 726 lelemoa, on the sea flats near Foui. In this fight Finau was opposed by the warrior Vikena of Utulau, who had previously been a follower of 669 Finau. Finau made the remark to Vikena, while they were in Haapai or 726 Vavau, "The unsatisfactory part of my going to Tonga to fight is that there is nobody there to stand up to me." Vikena replied that he would 634 go to Tonga and stand up to him. So Vikena came and warned the Hihifo chiefs to get ready, for Finau was coming. When Finau arrived a battle was fought inland, and Finau's force broke and fled, Vikena pursuing Finau.

When Vikena came within spear's reach of Finau he called him to stand and turn. Finau turned, and Vikena, sitting down, said, "Go alive; I'll go and die." The god Fonokitangata of Utulau had told Vikena that he would deliver Finau into his hand, and that if he did not kill him he himself must die. Vikena told Finau that he did not forget his share in his glory and kindness. So, letting Finau go, he went and died, and is said to be buried in Hihifo.

Finau it seems, soon saw that his hope of winning permanent power in Tongatabu was small, and he instituted his practice of yearly raids, destroying crops and harassing the country, in which Mariner participated.

The greatest warrior, and most effectively powerful chief, at this time 669 in Tongatabu was Vahai, who lived in Polonga with Vaea, Valu, Takai, and 701 Fae. After the death of Vahai they disbanded. Takai and Fae fortified Pea. Even before the death of Vahai this fortification had been commenced. 669 Pea had previously served Takai as a fowl run, because there was much 701 of the plant *ate* there, which served as fowl feed. Vahai is called the *hau*, 712 king, not because he was Tui Kanokupolu, but because he was the greatest warrior and leader. When he became weak, and it was clear that he would [192] die, he sent for Takai and gave him his mana, by rubbing a piece of the [763] stem of the plantain tree between his hands, and then putting it on the [778] hands of Takai, at the same time telling him to receive his *hau* (lordship). When Vahai's death was reported Takai and Fae were busy fortifying Pea. They completed their fortifications before they went to the funeral ceremonies. After the burial of Vahai, Vaea fortified Houma, and Valu fortified Utulau.

For some years after the death of Tukuaho there was no effective king 643 in Tonga. The Tui Tonga had not sufficient power left to control the situation. The chiefs of the Haa Ngata, with whom was the choice, within [613] fairly strict limits, and installation of the Tui Kanokupolu, attempted to meet the position by installing an outsider, Maafuolimuloa, who belonged to the Haa Havea and not to the Haa Ngata. The reason of this is said

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 place at sea, a reef, where the *tulu* are plentiful. Probably it is the proper name of
a reef or stretch of sea. Halakakala is a fishing ground, a reef, of the Tui Tonga,
584 near Eueiki. Haa Maafu is the Tui Tonga; Haa Ngata, the great house of which
the Tui Kanokupolu is head. These may not be literally the names of sea localities,
[103] but introduced figuratively, because of the connection he claimed with both these houses.
Tupou, the title of the Tui Kanokupolu, is also the name of several localities (21).
[613] The one whose fame is spoken of is Ulamoleka himself, named in the next line the
[551] king of the men of the ocean.

31. Here is portrayed the grief and indignation in various localities in Tonga
[643] when they hear of the affront that Ulamoleka has suffered.

32. Matamoana and Halaevalu are names of two pigeon-snaring mounds in Tonga-
[345] tabu.

33. Anganangana (Whispering hedge) is said to be a locality in Hihifo, Tongatabu.
[103] Probably it is a sanctuary, and the meaning is that the power of the temple has not
[778] been sufficiently potent for success in the undertaking.

34. Nakau and Fungaana are place names distributed in various parts of the
[103] group. Gifford notes a Fungaana in Niua Toputapu. Doubtless there is a Nakau in
Niua Toputapu also.

[821] 35. Luatangata is a star name, and probably so is Alovalu. Vaea is a chief.
Luatangata and Alovalu may be the nicknames of chiefs.

[551] 36. Pouvalu is noted by Gifford as the name of a house of the Tui Tonga.

[552] 37. A reminiscence of some voyage may be indicated or merely the wide extent
of his travels. Probably also a hint is made of his high connections, which extend
to Samoa. Tutuila is in eastern Samoa, and the Tui Kanokupolu is connected with
the lords of Manua in eastern Samoa. Up until quite recently it was customary for
the Tui Kanokupolu to acknowledge the connection by visits to the Tui Manua.

[502] 38. A sign of good seamanship is to come to the anchorage with the sail, instead
[504] of working in with oars. Kolongahau is a famous harbor of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

39. Lala is the name of a tree. This launching place is not now known. Evi-
[824] dently it was marked by a lala tree, or by a clump of these trees.

40. "I shall no longer base my claim to better treatment on my connection with chiefs; I shall leave that boat of high connection and strike out relying only on my own merits."

41. "Even though the way is not so good, yet I shall strike out on it."

42. Longoakau and Alakihaafata are the names of localities in which is spread the
[103] report of the prowess of Ulamoleka.

43. In the bonito fishing if a boat were full of fish, and yet caught more, the
[226] tails of the fish which could not be taken to shore were broken off, the mutilated fish
were thrown back into the sea and the tails taken as trophies.

44. Haa Loau occurs as a place name in several parts of Tonga. Probably the locality indicated is in Lifuka, Haapai, where is Tongoleleka, mentioned in the next line. A scion of the Tui Tonga house still lives at Tongoleleka.

45. Probably a double strand of meaning is intended: that Ulamoleka's love will be consoled by some other woman, although it has gone through such unquiet waters, and also that his long poem is almost ended, although the bark of poesy has sailed seas of unfriendliness and misrepresentation.

46. The simile of pigeon-snaring is again employed. If there be an uneven number of birds there is great difficulty in netting them, since the odd bird flies hither and thither, seeking a mate and so disturbing all the flock. Hence, the girl Ulamoleka went to marry is a restless pigeon flying about in all directions so that he can not capture her.

47. This line is omitted in the copy printed in Koe Makasini.

48. House of the snarers (*fale feao*) is not the house on the mound where the snaring is actually done, but the house near the mound in which the cooking for the sportsmen was done.

49. "I shall make no further effort to catch this strong, far-ranging pigeon, who does not wish to be caught by me, and perhaps after all I am just as well out of it. One never knows what he has got in pigeon-hunting—and in marriage." The expression *tufa mei vao,* distributed from the bush, means "the catch is not taken home to the village and there gone through and allotted, but the distribution is done on the mound itself, and one does not see very well what he has got, but just takes his luck."

539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'aq* and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'ungangana*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 **370. E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.
776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 **371. Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.
554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-
784 ior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 **372. Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.
825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-
787 cated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird. There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous,
201 presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 **373. Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.
776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be
[829] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 **374. Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.
778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 **375. Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.
776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad
183 conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent, is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

in three divisions from three different points. The 175
battle was obstinate and bloody—at length they 669
fled; leaving behind them several old chiefs who 726
fell a sacrifice to our rage. 727

In the field of battle, was a large Fiatooka. In
this, numbers had taken refuge, supposing that, as [718]
it was the burying-place of Dugonagaboola, the sanctity of the place would secure them from violence. Our party however made an attack upon the place, and attempted to pull up the fence. But as the enemy within could not be seen, yet could see us, when any one attempted to pull off the reeds, they pierced him with their spears. They judged it best, therefore, to set fire to it: but the sanctity of the place deterred them. They applied to me: I threw a firebrand upon the thatch; it did not light for some time: at length it was all in a blaze. Many of them fled out, but they found no quarter: the rest therefore stood upon their defence, and fought desperately till they were all killed. A few young women amongst them came out, and begged
hard for their lives. They made these "boboolers," [727]
prisoners, and they became the property of those who first took them.

After the victory, I made inquiries respecting my countrymen; and with heart-rending grief, learned the melancholy slaughter of those at Ardeo. I was informed also that the rest, who lived with other

175 gether. My party quickly followed us, and killed
669 him there. The other they overtook, and knocked
726 him down, but did not kill him; and some boys amongst us, went, and barbarously amused themselves
727 in beating him. We found many women and children; but none were spared. So dreadful is war in a nation, where the fierceness of degenerate nature is not restrained by the the humanizing influence of civilization; and where ignorant and corrupt man has not been taught mercy, by Christianity.

After three days the gale ceased, and the canoes were fitted out to return to Mooa, that part of Tonga whence we had sailed to Aheefo, before we were driven from the island. We reached it by the close of day.

[729] Here a counsel was held on the means of a second attack. Many of the Aheefans, we understood,
[718] had retired to a district called Mafanga, which was considered as a sanctuary or country of refuge, to those who fled there. After staying some time at Mooa, to arrange and prepare our plan of attack, we set out with the fleet for Aheefo. The enemy had a force assembled to oppose us; but it was much diminished by the numbers who had fled for refuge to Mafanga. A great part of our men landed, unobstructed by the enemy,—an engagement ensued. We saw them, from the canoes, fight, pursue, flee, and kill. Our troops were too much extended, and seemed in danger of being routed,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate 175
woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they 634
hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit- 797
houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration 798
that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties.

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the Astrolabe anchored 175
at Pangaimotu,[1] and was attacked by a party of natives, 177
who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being 609
disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and
knowing the evil character the people had earned in
their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island
for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the
year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of
de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put
in for a few days to secure interpreters.

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji[2]), who 175
now held independent sway over Vavau, following Tau- 634
faahau's example, had also written for a missionary; but 797
his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he
soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Tau- [628]
faahau visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes,
on political business, and took that opportunity for
attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour.
It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail
back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary
whether it would be safe to promise Finau a
missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods.
Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack.
Being before all things practical, Finau determined to 175 634
give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally 797 776 778

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[1] Near Nukualofa.

[2] Described by Mariner.

175 breaking with them. He had seven of the principal
634 idols placed in a row, and addressed them as follows:
797 "I have brought you here to prove you, and I will tell
776 778 you beforehand what I am going to do, so that you may
have no excuse. I am going to burn you. If you be gods, escape!" But as the idols made no attempt to escape, he gave orders that the spirit-houses should be set on fire. Eighteen were thus destroyed; but the weather being damp, they took four days to consume, and the people sat by terrified, waiting for the retribution that must follow such iniquity.

175 Meanwhile Finau's brother prepared to oppose the new
634 faith by force of arms. After plundering the outlying
797 villages of Vavau, he intrenched himself on an uninhabited
578 island. Finau called upon Taufaahau to help him out of the difficulty brought about by following his advice. At the head of a strong party of Haapai warriors he landed on the island, and tried his powers of persuasion upon the hostile force. Besides his physical prowess Taufaahau possessed another gift that appeals most powerfully to primitive man — eloquence. Often when his men were jaded, hungry, and dispirited, a few words from him would turn their thoughts from their own sufferings to the glory to be won by fiery courage and the shame of failure. "When Tubou spoke like that," said one of his chiefs, "the warriors would not wait to hear the end, but rushed upon the enemy and bore them down."

While the enemy still hesitated he prepared for the attack, but they did not await his onset. They threw open the rude gateway and sued for peace. No blood was shed, but the leader was banished to Fiji, and a number of his

622 One of our excursions was to the colony of
643 flying-foxes at Hihifo, where I wished to renew
my acquaintance with old Ata, the hereditary
lord of the western district, who had not been
on cordial terms with the king since the royal
[103] marriage. His village lies upon the shores of
Maria Bay, so named by Tasman when he discovered
the island in 1643, and it is close to
Kanakubolu, where the temporal kings were
always crowned, and from which they take their
[824] title of Tui Kanakubolu. The ancient tree
under which they sat was overthrown (*absit
omen*) in a gale a few years ago, and the present
king caused pieces of the wood to be inlaid in
825 the throne of the royal chapel. But the feature
of the place is the flying-fox colony. Four or
five great *toa* trees stand in the village square,
and many thousands of these great fruit-eating
bats roost there in the sunshine, hanging head
downward like noisome fruit, crawling, scratching,
quarrelling, killing the foliage with their
droppings and poisoning the air with their reek.
At nightfall they set forth in long procession for
the banana plantations, levying toll on them as
far as Mua, fifteen miles distant, and returning to
[778] their perch before daybreak. In no sense are
[777] they sacred, and away from the colony they may

be shot, but it is inauspicious to shoot them in 825
the village itself, because then they would go [778]
away and dire misfortune would happen. For [777]
every great family in Tonga has its death por- [763]
tent; with the Fatafehi it is the splitting of a
great banyan tree; with the Tui Kanakubolu
it is the roar of breakers on the reef in calm
weather; with the Ata it is the sudden migration
of the flying-foxes from the trees in Kolovai.

We had a delightful ride along the grassy 137
road shaded with orange trees ripening to harvest.
On either side of the road lay wide tracts of
uncultivated bush, and I was sorry to see,
mingled with the matted foliage, the ill-omened
pink flowers of the *Talatala hina*. In the Parlia- [671]
ment of 1891, when I sat on the Treasury bench,
a panic bill had been hurried through, making
it penal for any landowner to have this plant on
his land after March, 1902. If the fines then
provided were to be enforced now, the govern-
ment would require no other source of revenue,
for the plant, then confined to a small district
at the back of the island, has now advanced to
within a few miles of Nukualofa. It is a tough,
creeping vine, armed with sharp, reflexed thorns,
deep-rooted and very difficult to eradicate. Throw-
ing its wicked arms about a young tree it thrusts

778 In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki
(Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the
823 craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop.
At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made
of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made
its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three
in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed
was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards
provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-known
fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of
the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

778 Later Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Underworld and settled at Koloa in Vavau, where a temple of Maui stood up to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite consistent at this point. Atalanga married a woman of Vavau, whom one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavau, and various other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of the position of the Vavau of myth has an interest and difficulty not unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear, in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawau), "There is reason for thinking that Vavau in the Friendly Islands is not the mythological Vavau or Wawau; the name has been localised anew all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

794 In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the
practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to
them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-wide,
and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to
565 various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially
[794] associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who
are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane
[771] affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and
particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part
[643] of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chiefliness, of which
the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing
[781] sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe.
[776] Chiefliness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Ahoeitu, the first Tui
Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a
776 human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were
worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean
[778] apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by
a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of 776
a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean
information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the
best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old
pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair
idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with
other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in 778
some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too [368]
much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which
one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the [361]
population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. [178]
In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones,
pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with
yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully 778
preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the 285
same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished
mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the
priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the [825]
temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the
animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom
the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a 787
vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation
with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words 778
used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him [825]
signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material
objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This,
however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need
restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the 787
god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were
others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to in- [793]
spirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to [753]
be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in
Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a
native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there
are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of
divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of
orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, 787
who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied
inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the 793
divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without
any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement [776]
is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of [154]

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the 773
wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern
our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by
bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. 304
Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home [178]
growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still
extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that [177]
tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have
been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear 304
totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird 771
called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his 825
worship. Something more will be said later about the individual
gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of
tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them.
Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest.
In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose 304
their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, 531
and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most
of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain 555
whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities 776
whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative
is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a 778
particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an 825
informant able to supplement his previous information. There are [793]
also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was
sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time
to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the
gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather 124
about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my
informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness,
and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what
follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally
correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however
inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when
reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting
to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are
living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full
account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives
of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing
and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has
himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible
both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been
given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been
forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

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NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

BY E. E. V. COLLOCOT.

PART II.

TUI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa 776
and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a [171]
village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living
Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here
a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua 776
was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their 778
places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection [764]
to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but
others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man
was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua
was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means 776
the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king 613
of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the
tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and 776
for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or [825]
post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or
tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end [778]
of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently 793
speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then
evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," 787
using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same
word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of [192]
course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those
who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed
as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, 776
and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick [753]
by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred
previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing [842]
in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not
unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

[p. 227]

776 connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred
animal of Mofuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in
[825] an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented
anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound
with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the
eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken
off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one
unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged
god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had
finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst
them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had
plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *vete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-
776 ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *vete* surrounded the great eel
825 like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish
and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the
776 *vete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down
to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this
825 precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *vete*
784 would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

[262] The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt
the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of
778 war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric.
[798] Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

Taufa is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu,
associated particularly with the great Tui Haatakalaua chief Tungi
776 and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but
649 the title is now borne by the Tui Haatakalaua, one of the oldest and
proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufa
776 was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern
[103] villages, in the east of Tongatabu, but the name is more familiar now
as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most
776 widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufa-ahau, is
said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In
649 childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufa, and
551 thereafter bore the name Taufa-ahau. This name was previously
unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufa had a
776 famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Niukapu,
a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this
778 house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with
[782] appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god.
The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed
776 sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave
778 her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Niukapu. Tamale, who
related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Niukapu's
793

foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves 776
should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should
perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his 778
pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his 793
kava, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to
demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. 776
This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the 778
island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the 793
right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the 276
ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested 574
as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On 776
land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e., Taufa of the Land, but had no
separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tahi and Taufa-uta cannot be 825
considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the [778]
god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which
he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to [793]
him is Taufa-tahi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea [187]
monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a
place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds,
like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen
beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the
god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes
seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services 776
of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the
semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed 241
the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said 776
that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to
thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the 241
moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon after- 784
wards the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both
his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the 776
priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a 793
Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talini Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now 776
assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of
Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the 643
Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu,
who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the [554]
Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is
itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu 103
chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of
this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the 361
name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

361 is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the
modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui
[103] Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and
[644] Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of
Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the
present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family
groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still
known.

The sacred object of Taliai Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble,
778 roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College,
Nukualofa. This stone is called Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its
613 headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western
[778] Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of
Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally
the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to
that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

Besides the Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground
778 in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin
sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone,
of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the
stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but
search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two volcanic mountains in Haapai, Tofua and Kao.

Bekebeka-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a
776 *matabule* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief)
825 of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now
transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely
[787] mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata.
Bekabeka-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes
(*beka*) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to
824 have seen him.* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the
flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the
825 rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however,
784 have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls
from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked
up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe
of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a
825 surreptitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata
276 must make *kava* for them and so entice them home again.

* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox, most recently within the last two or three years.

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no 776
reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty [825]
little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in
the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity [825]
manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele. [793]

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ae-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in 776
his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which
becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, 778
valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, [252]
and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and [764]
the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings.
These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant [782]
volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The
priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not 776
clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such 755
soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice.
The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of [757]
mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and
use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground
on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui 776
(The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of 349
Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also
connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people 776
knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god. 825

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to
find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this [643]
bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already
mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat. [304]

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this
connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The 825
home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he 763
flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an
indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would
be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this [164]
bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous
cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the [165]
nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled
with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic
influenza.

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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There 764
was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried
there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been 766
observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is [177]
a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of [349]
the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an
ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity 776
Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the
name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The [643]
sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes [825]
not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an [778]
unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh [755]
of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the [782]
reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length [784]
conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage [262]
being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally
handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance [826]
being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the 773
poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate
adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The 821
mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana 773
in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori 771
Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special
connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori
in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously
killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime.
In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tunuunga, 773
relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tunuunga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tunuunga had

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples 237
dedicated to shark deities. 778

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters
of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and 776
Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were [823]
made for good seasons and big hauls of fish.

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in [782]
the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods.
Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his 773
mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the
incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in
horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between
himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had
added fresh blots to the family history.

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he
was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after
Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. [776]
Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea,
although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child
home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to
visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the
family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was
stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with
a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, [182]
to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and
drought.

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name 776
may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess [821]
of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-
rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow 133
of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he
disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated 776
with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as [822]
hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of
coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, [824]
which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably [778]
the site of a house sacred to her.

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although 776
the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous
and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian 171
peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan
tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts
from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these.

595 The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended 622 on that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for the principal wife.

831 Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed 832 of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the [778] ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jinilau, the god of [776] beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were [585] themselves sometimes even called Jinilau. The custom obtained, and [554] is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the [554] ladies. High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is [565] obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and 831 prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame 832 of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and 538 extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord; the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on [304] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole [584] in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*. [554] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections, and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which [555] they all might share. The first holder of the great Tungi title was called Tungi Mana'ia, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted [644] rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly blood of Tonga. The present Tungi is the consort of the reigning Queen.

quarter in the thickest part. On only two occasions 136
have we seen it swimming at sea. When
first observed, it was carrying the head quite erect,
about four inches above the surface; but, instantly
it saw our boat, it drew its head under water, and
disappeared. The natives seem to have a great
reverence for, or else a great aversion to, the
creature, notwithstanding its prettiness. But this [778]
may arise, in part, from its having been held sacred, [825]
and being even worshipped in former days.

It would be hard to determine what were the 136
indigenous animals of the Tonga Islands. We have 231
heard an intelligent native playfully say, that, in
olden times, the only representatives of the animal
and feathered tribes, were the *kuma*, or field-mouse,
and the *jikota*, a species of kingfisher.
Captain Cook found hogs, and dogs, and probably,
cats, upon the islands; but it is just possible that
these were first left by the Dutch navigator Tasman,
nearly a century before. Of his visit, the
people have no traditionary knowledge whatsoever.
Whether the Tonguese obtained animals from him 231
or not, there is no doubt that the breed of hogs now
extant is much superior to that which the people
possessed in bygone days. Considerable attention
is paid to rearing them. Many, it is true, are
allowed to run wild in the bush; but a very large
number are reared in pig-styes, or are regularly
tended and fed by their owners.

The number of pigs consumed at the great 261
native feasts, of various kinds, is something enormous. 262
Hundreds, and even thousands, have been 574
known to be slaughtered and cooked entire, on 231
these occasions, with a wasteful extravagance,
against which the Missionaries have hitherto lifted

136 the exception of an occasional squeaking cry from
the whole fraternity, when any troublesome bat
fluttered about in search of a new roosting-place.
As night approached, all became uproar and commotion.
There seemed invariably to be a great deal
of debating and manœuvring, before they could
finally start on their nocturnal expeditions in search
of food. Their return to the grove of *toas* always
indicated the near approach of daylight, accompanied
as it was by their loud chattering, and the
evident contention for convenient roosting-places.
136 On certain occasions, in former times, these animals
825 were *tabu*, or considered sacred by the people.
784 During those seasons, the penalty of death itself
[778] might be inflicted upon any one who should disturb
or destroy them. In this way, one of the Missionaries,
136 the Rev. Stephen Rabone, well nigh fell a
825 sacrifice to the rage of a heathen chief in Hihifo.
784 At the time, one of the chiefs was lying dangerously
797 ill, and the bats were then *tabu*. Not knowing
the law or custom, Mr. Rabone shot one, as
it happened to fly over his garden. Shortly
afterwards, an enraged relative of the sick man
rushed into the Mission House, club in hand, and
would certainly have done Mr. Rabone serious personal
injury, but for the prompt interference of a
Christian Chief of higher rank than himself.

136 Here, as in all tropical countries, insect life swarms, and luxuriates, as much as the vegetation. Many of the insect tribes are doubtless useful to man in their own places; but when they take possession of human habitations, and there multiply profusely, they then become a real plague. Ants, black, white, and red, swarm everywhere, and so do lizards, and beetles of all kinds. Some of these

174 and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions [784] connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

[796] 3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

[304] 4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

5. Every person and thing that touched a dead [783] body was considered unclean, and remained so until [764] after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

[846] [783] 6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corre-[798] sponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

[793] 8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered [794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

footed beasts, and creeping things." (Rom. i. 776
22, 23.)

The sacrifices offered to the gods consisted 782
chiefly of animals, fruits, vegetables, and native
valuables. Upon special occasions, however, finger-joints
were offered; and, in great emergencies,
human victims were immolated to propitiate the
angry deities. These acts were by no means unfrequent;
and their was a certain *faahiga*, or
tribe, from which the sacrificial victim was usually
selected.

The priesthood was hereditary, and constituted a 793
numerous and powerful body, in former times, [794]
whose support taxed, very heavily, the labour and
substance of the people. The priests took rank
from their gods and chiefs; the worship of the
latter determining, in great measure, the popularity
of the former. The power of the priest, though it
partook more of a religious character, was second
only to that of the chiefs. Their persons were [778]
esteemed sacred because of their presumed familiarity
with the gods; and these spiritual lords of
the people, like the temporal ones, neglected no
opportunity of personal aggrandizement, and the
advance of their selfish interests. Even over the
warrior-chiefs, the priests exercised a powerful influence,
and often made their religious fears and blind
devotion subservient to their covetous desires. In
sickness, or when under the fear of sorcery, their
favourable consideration was only to be secured by
gifts, proportioned to the rank of the applicant. Incantations [754]
to be practised upon enemies, or counter
ceremonies, to ward off imaginary evil influences
from them, could only be obtained at great cost.
Of these death-dealing incantations, both chiefs and 754

539 (the god's attendant priestess, or shrine.) He then
797 cut off the hard portion of the root, and said, at
643 the same time holding up the stem, 'There, then,
771 I will strike only with this.'

776 "When we arrived at the place to present the *kava* of the god, the old priestess said, 'Haehaetahi is not here:' upon which Taufa-ahau replied, 'Perhaps the god is vexed with me because of this great garland of flowers;' (referring to some upon his own person;) 'but let him forgive, and return hither, that we may drink *kava* together.' Hereupon the
[787] old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Taufa-ahau had prepared a great drinking-cup, large enough for four persons to drink from; for he knew, he said, that 'Haehaetahi was a god fond of drink.' The cup was then filled and handed by Taufa-ahau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Taufa-ahau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain. Owing to this act, no god was again willing to appear openly throughout Haabai. The whole fraternity of gods were afraid lest they should be beaten like Haehaetahi; for, from that time, Taufa-ahau became very mischievous to them all.

539 "But the following was the manner, and the occa-
797 sion, of the king's first open profession of Christianity.
There came a request to me, from a certain chief,
643 that I would go and burn a sacred tree, that so he
[778] might be at liberty to cut it up, and use it in building his canoe. As I went along, some women asked, 'Where is the man of prayer going?' So

those whose mothers are noble on the side of the Hau, Tu'i 276
Kanokupolu, and fathers are noble in the Tu'i Tonga family), 574
pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mu'a (Tafolo, and perhaps 537
Tamale), pea tapu moe Sina'e 'eiki, pea tapu moe Sina'e ki 195 576
mui (perhaps Tamale, or Manumua and Lomu), pea tapu 643
moe Tu'i Hoi, pea tapu mo (moe) Faoa Manafa. Koe ngata e tala 'o Fanakava kae ata kae fai hano tala (The end of the telling of Fanakava[8] and it is clear to make its speech).

Before the *kava* is distributed the presentations of 276
food and *kava* are taken outside the ring. Motu'apuaka will 574
probably order them to be taken for Lauaki, who will 576
superintend their distribution, either personally or by a
deputy. If there be a chief present whom it is desired to 276
honour, for example a visitor, Motu'apuaka may order that 574
these presentations be taken for his *matapule;* or Lauaki, 576
in making the actual distribution, will see that he gets a 565 554
large share. In such distributions the chiefs for whom portions *(inasi)* are designed are not named, but their *matapule,* and the *matapule* express thanks for the gifts. Visiting chiefs thus honoured will be expected to provide a good reception when, later on, they are visited in their own homes.

It will be recalled that three men are seated at the 276
kava-bowl, one at either side, and one behind facing the 574
king. The man on the side, in a line with the *matapule* who is directing operations says, when the straining is finished, *Kuo ma'a 'ae kava ni,* This *kava* is clear. The *matapule* responds *Tokonaki 'o fakatau,* Make ready and deal out. Then the cups, which have been in making whilst the *kava* was being brewed are brought.[9]

Of the two men seated at the side of the bowl one "calls," that is, calls out as each cup is filled; and the other removes the little pieces of *kava* that adhere about the rim of the bowl, usually employing a small piece of coconut-leaf

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[8] Fanakava, so far as one can get information about it from living Tongans, is remembered mostly as a sanctuary. It is a very sacred part of the Tu'i Tonga's ground in Mu'a. [778]

[9] Although cups of coconut-shell are used on lesser occasions the cups used at great ceremonies are of folded plantain leaf. The coconut-shell cups of Niua Fo'ou differ from those of other parts of the Tongan Group in having a hole near the edge through which is threaded a cord of twisted hibiscus fibre, to serve as a hanger. [415] [283] [824]

Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, 276
using alternately the right and left hand. 574
643

Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo*, bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

VISITS TO SHRINES.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential 276
part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems 782
to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan 793
expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him.

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great 276
chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava*, and act as cup- 778
bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly 782
chief told me that Taufaahau, King George Tupou I., was 793
serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in 643
Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Taufaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava*.

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew 276
him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of 782
eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially asso- 793
ciated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony 776
directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as *matapule* at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother
of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The [825]
representative of this god, or that through which the god came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony.

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

me'a, Take this *kava* for so-and-so; the person named, or 276
his *matapule*, responds, *Fakafetai*, *Thanks*. Such a piece of 574
kava is at the disposal of him to whom it is given; but if 565
there be a shortage for the needs of present sociability he 624
will probably have it beaten up and drunk.

FUAKAVA.

The word *fuakava*, translated to-day as oath, is said 276
to have originated in the practice of settling disputes over 574
the *kava*-bowl. 578

The heads of the family or families concerned would get the dissentients together, and, whilst *kava* was being prepared, go into the matter in dispute. Pleas and arguments on both sides were heard, the whole matter thoroughly ventilated, and ways of accommodation suggested. The *kava* was not drunk till a friendly settlement was reached. The first round of the drink taken in the reestablished harmony was the *fua-kava*, said to mean literally first-*kava*. To drink of this *kava*, and afterwards to be disloyal to the agreement reached would make one *mala'ia*, accursed. The first cup is the *kava 'oe 'otua*, *kava* of the god, and was poured out on the ground.

GIVING OF KAVA.

During a time of war some generations ago the chief 173
Niukapu sought sanctuary with the priest Kautae, who 778
preserved the inviolacy of the sanctuary at the cost of the 793
sacrifice of his own child. For this devotion Niukapu told 276
Kautae to ask what return he would, and the priest 574
requested the chief to give him his *kava*, i.e., the right to drink Kautae's cup in *kava* ceremonies. This was granted, and the right has been exercised freely. The name Kautae has been continued to the present day, and when one priest dies a new one is installed. In a *kava* party where both Niukapu and Kautae are present when Niukapu's cup is called Kautae may say, *Ha'u 'ae kava koe ki heni*, That *kava* come here.

Another right is illustrated by the claim that may be 276
made by any man called Tapuosi on the cup of a Fale Fisi 574
chief. The chiefs of the Fale Fisi, Malupo, Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, 551
and Tu'i Ha'a-ngana have their descent from the Fijian Tapuosi, probably the Tu'i Lakemba, who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga in the seventeenth century.

26: Buck

OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information on artistic representations of the gods, see Category 532, pp. 89-96, 153-162.]

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

MATERIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

BY TE RANGI HIROA.

INTRODUCTORY.

T
S THE Tongans and Samoans of western Polynesia
171 resembled other groups in southern, central, eastern,
and northern Polynesia in having gods, priests, and places
where religious observances were carried out.

T The gods varied in origin, sphere of influence, and
S power. Their power was confined to a family group or
171 extended to tribes, villages, districts, or even to one or
776 more islands. In general principle, the gods were regarded
as something intangible without innate material form.

T The priest was the human medium between the god
S and the followers of the god. The office was usually
171 hereditary and carried out the transmitted ritual and
793 observances that placated the god and induced it to use
supernormal influence on behalf of the devotees. A visible
T manifestation of the formless god was apparent when an
S inspired priest was affected with a convulsive seizure
171 attributed to the god entering his human medium to make
793 known his decisions or commands. In such cases, the priest
787 was regarded as a material receptacle and was hence termed
a *waka* (canoe or receptacle) in New Zealand and a *pi'a
atua* (god-box) in Mangaia. The inspirational technique
was used throughout Polynesia but not all priests were
convulsive receptacles nor did all gods assume this method
of visible manifestation.

T The official places for making divine contact varied
S considerably. Certain gods were represented by rocks or
171 trees, and a simple ritual such as the offering of a branch
778 or a pebble or the muttering of a short formula was carried
[788] out even by the laity when such sites were passed. For
more important deities and occasions, special structures
T were constructed, the offerings assumed greater value
S
171 culminating in some regions in human sacrifices, the
346
788

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T
S merely followed the pattern adopted with houses for human
171 occupation. The fundamental element of the religious
346 structure was the house in which sacred objects were kept
[342] and in which the priest might reside.

(c) No specialized structure. New Zealand, the
southern region settled by Polynesians, was characterized
by the absence of an elaborated pattern of religious struc-
T ture. The paved *marae* court of central Polynesia with
S its religious significance was absent, but the term *marae*
171 was applied to an unpaved social court before the village
meeting-house. The New Zealand *marae* thus had an
368 affinity with the Tongan and Samoan *malae* in that it
formed an assembly-ground for social functions. The
religious *ahu* of central Polynesia was divorced from the
social *marae*, and under the name of *tuahu (tu-ahu)* was
relegated to some selected spot outside the village. The
tuahu consisted merely of a cleared space, a wooden post,
an upright stone, or even of as many as five stones set
upright by human agency. More often, however, the *tuahu*
was represented by a selected outcrop of rock which the
hand of man had no part in providing.

T It is true that the dwelling-house occupied by the
S priest in New Zealand might be regarded as taboo by the
171 general public from its association and the priest might
346 be consulted there in his religious capacity, but there was
[784] no special complex as in western Polynesia. In New
Zealand, the house was the house of the priest; but in
Tonga, the house was the house of the god. Small sacred
houses were erected on one or more piles, in which offerings
for the gods were placed on occasions, but such buildings
were isolated elements that lacked the definite relationship
which existed between the raised wooden platforms *(fata)*
for offerings and the religious *marae* in central Polynesia.
The Maori seemed to be content to get into touch with
his gods without the aid of the elaboration in religious
structure which took place in the rest of Polynesia.

T Though the Polynesians created their gods from
S immaterial beings without innate material form, they
776 associated them with certain material forms that the eye
778 could see. The material representatives of the gods without
171 form of their own may be classed into two groups, animate
and inanimate.

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ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS.

From the earliest times, man has observed the movements T
of animals and birds and drawn deductions from S
them. Sometimes the deductions were quite rational and 171
assisted materially in the prosecution of the food-quest. 825
The Polynesian fisherman observed the actions of flocks of sea-birds and deduced from them that they were following shoals of young fish. He joined in the chase, knowing from experience that shoals of bonito would also be following beneath in the water and would take his pearl-shell lure in mistake for fish. The voyager noted the flight of sea-birds in a certain direction in the evening and deduced that land lay in that direction, for experience had taught him that even sea-birds prefer to rest on land at night. Other interpretations of movements do not appear so rational, such as those with a supernatural association. Animals and birds were somehow credited with being influenced by supernatural causes more readily than man.
Movements of living things were thus interpreted to indicate T
whether or not the individual person or group would be S
successful in the particular quest which occupied attention 171
at the time. The attitude toward such phenomena as the
movements of living things was a general vague idea of 787
luck, good or bad. In Polynesian society, the attitude was more definitely connected with the spiritual concept that the immaterial gods influenced the movements of living bodies to convey messages to their followers. Usually movements in the same direction were favourable while movements in the opposite direction were unfavourable. Movement or appearance on a particular side was favourable while on the opposite side the effect would also be opposite.
A further step was taken when families and groups selected T
certain living things to represent their specific god. The S
living object thus became the animate representative of 171
their immaterial god and the god's communications were 776
evidenced by the appearance, movements, or sounds, that the living representative made.
Another step in elaboration T
took place when on occasions the god was regarded as being S
actually present in the living representative, much in the 171
same way that the god took possession of the inspirational 776
priest. Bird-representatives usually acted as messengers 778
without the god being in temporary residence. The living

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T S 171 776 778 representatives of gods are usually referred to as incarnations; but it must be remembered there is a wide range of belief from their being merely sacred to the gods to their being occupied by the gods. The Maori term for the living representatives is *aria* and the Tahitian is *ata*. Both terms carry the association of form or shadow. The Tongan term applied to them is *vaka* (canoe, receptacle) which is the term applied by the Maori to the priest who was the receptacle that the god entered at times.

T S 784 776 171 Diversity occurs with regard to the question of taboo. Should an individual member of a species be regarded as the god's representative only when functioning, or should the whole species be taboo at all times? In New Zealand, the prevailing concept was that a member of the selected species was regarded as the divine representative when it acted in a significant manner or when a sign was required. Otherwise, any member of an edible species was freely eaten by the worshippers of the god represented by the species. In Tonga and Samoa, the whole species was taboo to all followers at all times. This western attitude comes near to one of the elements of totemism but, even here, it must be remembered that the animal incarnation had never been an ancestor but that it was merely the representative at most of a human ancestor who had been deified.

T S 171 776 The following table, compiled from Collocott[1] and Gifford[2] for Tonga and from Turner[3] for Samoa, gives a list of the kinds of animate representatives utilized in the two groups and the number of gods that used each species:

TABLE 1—ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES IN TONGA AND SAMOA.

Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Dog	1	1
Flying fox	1	1
Bat	-	2
Pigeons	1	5
Dove	1	-
Rail *(ve'a)*	2	5
Owl	1	4

T S

[113] [1] Collocott, E. E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, vol. 30, 1921, pp. 152, 227.

[113] [2] Gifford, E. W., Tongan Society, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, no. 61, 1929.

[113] [3] Turner, G., Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago, . . . 1884.

INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS.

T
Throughout Polynesia, inanimate objects were selected S
or made to represent the gods. These objects were kept 171
in the religious structures or in the personal charge of 778
the priests. They were always on hand whereas the animate representatives were not always available. Simple natural objects such as stones and shells were utilized. In the Tahitian region, red feathers impregnated with the spiritual essence of the god formed the basis for further elaboration
in form. More elaborate forms consisted of feather-work, T
sennit-work, and carved wooden objects. A further develop- S
ment consisted of carving images in wood, stone, or bone. 171
The images developed conventional patterns that on the 778
whole were characteristic in different regions, but yet 532
considerable variation occurred even in the same region.

Considerable diversity occurred with regard to the T
attitude in which inanimate representatives were regarded. S
In some regions they seem merely to have formed part 171
of a religious paraphernalia. In other regions they were 778
charged with the spiritual essence of the god and on occasions might even be entered by the god on the solicitation of the priest. The association of the immaterial god with the inanimate object entitles these inanimate representatives to come under the general term of fetish.

The inanimate fetishes reported from Tonga and Samoa range from natural objects such as stones, shells, and teeth, to manufactured articles such as mats, bowls, and weapons. Many of the gods were without such fetishes whilst others had as many as three. The smaller objects were usually wrapped up in bark-cloth smeared with turmeric, placed in baskets, and kept in the house sacred to the god. When worshippers gathered before the temple, the priest uncovered
the fetishes and displayed them on a mat. Offerings were T
made to these material symbols of the deity in order to S
secure a favourable response to the petition of the devotees. [782]
The range of material objects selected as inanimate representatives of various gods in Tonga and Samoa is shown in Table 2.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

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TABLE 2—INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

Object	Tonga	Samoa
Whales' teeth	6	1
Sharks' teeth	-	1
Trumpet shell	-	2
Cypraea shell	-	1
Unnamed shell	1	1
Stones	2	3
Fine mats	2	-
Coconut leaf basket	-	1
White tapa cloth	-	1
Turmeric ball	1	-
Wooden bowl	-	3
Throwing club	2	-
Striking club	1	-
Coconut wood spear	-	1
Shield *(pa)*	1	-
Pitching discs *(lafo)*	1	-
	17	15

IMAGES FROM TONGA.

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Amongst the objects listed in Table 2 there is no representative in human form nor any carved object except perhaps the Tongan club. Yet Wilkes[4] reported that in Samoa carved blocks of wood and of stone were set up in memory of chiefs and worshipped. Collocott[5] also, in speaking of the furniture of the temple of the Tongan god, Mafuta-ae-tau, states that it consisted of "fine mats, weapons of war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with turmeric." This temple with its contents was burned after the acceptance of Christianity. Though the carved objects mentioned by Wilkes and Collocott may not have been in human form, the statements are interesting in view of the fact that carved images from both island groups are in existence. It is remarkable that neither Collocott nor Gifford were given information by the Tongans regarding the presence of images in the Haapai islands. Turner also made no mention of images in Samoa though such an object is now in the British Museum.

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[114]
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[114]

T
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[113]
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[4] Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1844, vol. 2, p. 139.

[5] Collocott, E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, New Plymouth, 1921, vol. 30, p. 228.

The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives 778
of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the 532
documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, 127
who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai 631
was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward 643
became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title
of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] 643
had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth 797
and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit
to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his
ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the [798]
work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams 114
had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society 346
and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan
house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not
be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious
structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction 798
determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of 643
the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7]
wrote as follows:

> **"Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, [778]
> drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a
> most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into
> a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the
> gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had
> been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with 798
> great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, 778
> and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready
> to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of
> their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned
> criminals."**

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently
did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated
position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building 798
and Williams[8] continues: 643

> **"On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested 778
> this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately
> cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with
> the very string around its neck by which it was hung."**

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[6] **Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273.** [113]
[7] **Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.**
[8] **Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.**

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

778 Fortunately Williams[9] reproduced a drawing of the
127 goddess. A copy, with the position reversed purposely for
[128] comparison with other figures to follow, is shown in fig. 1.

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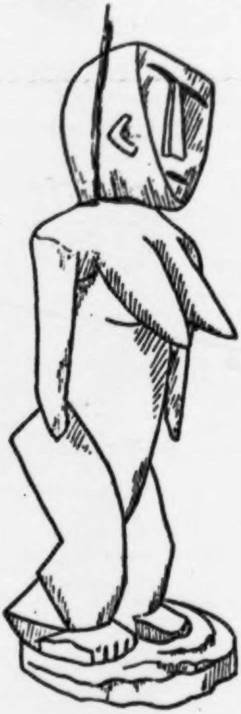

FIG. 1.
Tongan image, after Williams.

532 The figure has characteristic features which readily
[171] distinguish it from wooden images from other parts of
Polynesia. The head is poorly drawn but it is evident that the brows, nose, mouth, and ears are clearly defined. The outstanding features, however, are the large pointed breasts, the position of the arms which are free from the body with somewhat pointed hands hanging straight down, and the exaggerated back-projection of an enlarged gluteal region. The slightly flexed legs are short in proportion to the thighs and the feet are notched to represent toes. The figure stands on a base cut out of the same block of wood.

[9] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 274.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE SUPERNATURAL IN TONGA

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

IT is no longer possible to observe at first-hand the ritual of 121
Tongan worship. Even the names of the gods are well nigh [771]
forgotten. All that will be attempted here is to bring together
a few of the conceptions of the old Tongan when he came to have
dealings with the invisible world, adding little, probably nothing, to
the general sum of information respecting Polynesian beliefs, but
merely supplying a few points for comparison from a region which
has not been so fully described as some others.

TABU

GENERAL REMARKS

The main island in the Tongan Group is marked on the maps as 103
Tongatabu, though locally it is most often called simply Tonga. Very
frequently, however, it is called Tongatabu, sometimes Tonga Lahi
(Great Tonga), or Tonga Eiki (Chiefly Tonga). It probably owes 784
its appellation of "tabu" to the fact that it is the residence of the 565
great chiefs, those who in the beginning descended from heaven, the [103]
offspring of a mortal woman and a god. These chiefs are the fount [829]
and source of chiefly influence and prestige, the head of the sacred
polity of the group in its practical working. Natives say that the
people of the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau would remark
on the incessant tabus imposed on them when they visited Tonga on
account of the proximity of the high chiefs. That can have happened, however, only in the immediate entourage of these great lords.

The idea of tabu itself is twofold, or has a twofold aspect, indi- 784
cating firstly sacredness, that which is *nefas*, frequently equivalent to 778
the holiness by which our English Bibles render the Hebrew *qadosh*,
the mysterious perilousness and unapproachableness which surrounds
mystic power. Besides this uncanny essence of the occult tabu em-

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

braces concretely the body of prescriptions which regulate the conduct 784 of man in his relations to tabu persons and things. 778

Besides the simple word tabu there are several compounds in common use, the reduplicated form *tobutabu* which indicates a high degree of sacredness, as does also the word *tabuha.* There is the verb *tabui* which means "to place under a tabu," and the noun *tabuaki,* with corresponding adjective *tabuekina* and verb *tabuakii,* which are used now with the sense of bless, though if that be the precise ancient signification I am unable to say. These words are used frequently in Christian worship though I do not remember to have seen the three last in an old document. Possibly their meaning is "to invest with sacredness."

The range of ideas included under tabu is very wide, varying from the religious sanctity of gods and chiefs to the working of sympathetic magic. In its practical application to daily life it is a system of prohibitions, widening to meet the demands of religious, social, and industrial activities. 784 Some tabus, therefore, should be studied rather for the light they throw, for example, on social organisation than as elements in definite religious practice, but whether the tabu be to ensure a satisfactory yam harvest, or to preserve the purity of social relations, or to regulate the approach of man to his gods, the sanction is in all cases supernatural, safeguarded by laws beyond mortal ken, though man may frequently rid himself, and in some cases even forestall, the uncanny vengeance of the violated tabu. Although civilised and scientific man may classify the phenomena into various groups, to primitive man they are all part and parcel of the same thing, the relation of man with the great and often terrifying body of the unknown, all included under the same word and regarded with the same awe. There is no doubt that in some directions native ideas must have been rather vague as to what would be the consequences of neglected tabus, as experimental evidence was obviously not easily come by.

From before his birth till his death, or after it, primitive man is surrounded by prohibitions of mystic sanction. It must not be imagined, however, that at the stage of development at which Tongans had arrived freedom was so curtailed, or the mind so filled with shadowy

dread, as to make life wretched. There were many tabus, but some 784
of them resulted from the mistaken premisses of primitive science, and however ineffective their observance may have been they imposed no more toil on the laborer than a due regard to scientific agriculture entails on the white farmer. Rather less toilsome perhaps were they, but less useful. Again, in the matter of social relations the Tongan enjoyed in some respects a greater liberty than did his Christian contemporary, whilst the duties imposed by religion proper were neither oft recurring nor excessively burdensome. The fear of hell which many a primitive man has exchanged for his heathenism would seem a motive for more harrowing dread than any supplied by his discarded beliefs. A mild climate, abundant rainfall, and fertile soil, in the fruits of which all might share, went far to assure physical contentment, and, though the modern tendency is certainly not to underrate the importance of economic factors in national and cultural development, their potency in promoting material well-being is not likely to be overstated.

In passing it may be remarked that Christianization frequently 784
means for primitive man the carrying over to a new set of objects 797
much of the old manner of thought. Thus Sunday, called in Tongan by the Jewish name Sabbath, "Sabate," is the tabu day. The prohibitions against labor in the Fourth Commandment are naturally and properly rendered in the Tongan version of the Bible (which by the way is called the Tabu Book) as labor being tabu on the seventh day, and this idea of the tabu day is more easily assimilated and more strictly enforced than many of the more positive precepts of Christian teaching. A Tongan will not so much as pluck a flower or break a branch from a shrub on that day. Again, church buildings are tabu. 778
The practice, not infrequent in white countries, especially in rural 784
districts, of holding social gatherings in church buildings at which 797
food and drink are served would be entirely repugnant to Tongan thought. From regard to sacredness, also, water from church roofs is not stored or used. It is said that a few years ago a child died in one of the Haapai Islands through drinking water which had dripped from a church roof into an empty tin placed under the eaves.

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643
though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did [493]
not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors
or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned
to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui
Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his [644]
retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of
course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643
arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302
house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This [778]
ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was
safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest
some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643
supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304
had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the
purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565
is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537
speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195
his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784
which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose
real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of
So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the
speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my
speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one [643]
for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but
naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely
extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything
which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence
of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface.
Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784
person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576
a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753 521
without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 565

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other 588
charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had [797]
to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the [793]
cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and
Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the
Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used 682
to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to 776
the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who
either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods sometimes
turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide.
Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and be- 776
fore it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of 753
a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher 787
to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the 793
convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity,
and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away
in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now
returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter
used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled
to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration
by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he
went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their 778
neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the
duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces
in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there
has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the
inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstractions.
Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is
employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is [821]
a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing [832]
this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

It
probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is 778
used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical pre- [826]
cision. This same word is found in compounds meaning fear [827]
(*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-he* "wandering
manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking
this class of words together the primary significance of mana seems
to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb perhaps means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves 787
as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses [778]
of the word mana, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still
known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are 787
concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course 565
the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some
relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is [823]
a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of
the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district [823]
of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The [824]
breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an
omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tonga- [824]
tabu under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a [643]
few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the
late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about
two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good [823]
length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death
of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an [821]
unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was mana, [643]
though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching
end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accompanying the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that [825]
this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of
fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, 787
the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where 565
the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus- 825

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

girl who saw it told me it was a sign of bad luck, without however appearing to attach much importance to the matter. It is not clear whether her unconcern was due to her enlightenment, or to indifference to my fate, or to the hope that being a foreigner I should be able to pull through all right. 787 825

MANA OF MEN AND INSTRUMENTS

These manifestations in the seen world of purposes of the unseen world are mana. These are merely a few examples picked up here and there, and doubtless the list could be much extended. But supernatural power may also reside in a tool or weapon and become a mighty instrument in the hand of man. The club or spear of a great warrior, for example, is the abode of mana. The club of the chief Vahai was so charged with mana that it could not keep still, but was continually agitated by convulsive movements. Vahai kept this formidable weapon wrapped in a mat in his house and on one occasion sent a man to bring it to him. The messenger could see no club, only a bundle of mat agitated by an apparently living body, and returning to the chief told him that the only thing in the house was a child wrapped up in matting. The supposed child was of course none other than the club with its high power mana, and the man was again sent to fetch it. 778 411 778

Mana could be communicated from one person to another. If a weapon in which resided this supernatural force were borrowed the owner laid it across the open palm of the borrower, and then, getting a piece of the stem of the banana tree, rubbed and squeezed it in his own hands, thus expressing the juice. Then he rubbed the banana stem over the weapon and the open hand of the borrower. Vahai, the owner of the club just mentioned, conveyed to another chief, Takai, his own martial courage and prowess by performing a like operation upon his body. In these examples the warrior himself would seem to be primarily the source of the mana, thence conveyed to the weapons which he victoriously wielded; but from other statements it appears that the weapon itself might receive an inspiration of mana direct from the gods. In the account of the voyage of the missionary ship *Duff* weapons are spoken of as placed in temples to 411 778 776

obtain the coveted power: "From this we passed to the other large 411
house which . . . was sacred to the God of Pretane, and in which 778
old Mumui sleeps when indisposed, in hopes of a cure. On the 776
floor were four large conch shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger: and on the rafters were placed spears, clubs, bows and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue, to render them successful against their enemies." The Tongan philosopher was doubtless little troubled by questions as to whether the man gave the weapon the mana or the weapon gave it to the man. Traced to its ultimate source it was ever the gift of the gods.

APPARITIONS

The mana was occasionally a mysterious visitor from the other 787
world. As an example it was said that a man might suddenly see the 776
supernatural personage in his boat. The boatman would treat the apparition with the greatest respect, and set off home with as little delay as possible, convinced that some mishap had befallen. The recipient of such a visit would consider it a mark of divine displeasure, and would ask the sprite what wrong he had done, and why he was angry with him.

Mr. Murley's manuscript contains concrete examples of supernatural visitations. In July, 1909, on the night before the death of [763]
Maealiuaki, a great chief, at the time governor of Haapai, a man and his wife who were fishing on the island adjoining that on which the sick chief lay at the point of death were much alarmed at the sight of a sailing-boat, brightly illuminated with various colored lights, rapidly approaching from the southeast. This was of course a mana of Maealiuaki's death. That year of 1909 was fertile in portents and fortunate in chroniclers, for another of Mr. Murley's informants told him that in that same month of July, 1909, a small boy in the island of Niua Foou received a visit from a stranger who asked him if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The child confessed his ignorance, pleading his extreme youth. With the sinister words, "Then thou wilt know, for in the month of September you people will not be able to eat for something dreadful will occur," the stranger departed as abruptly as he had come. As he turned to go the boy

38: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1924
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539 again the poignant regret that had pursued their elders. Hemoana returned to the sea, leaving his sister pregnant. When the child was born the mother determined to slay it. So she battered it with a stone, and threw it into the sea. The body drifted away, and came ashore in Tofua, at a place called Lofia, in commemoration of the fact that it lay there covered over in shallow water.

[778] Tobukulu and Nafanua became two rocks to whom the Tongans used to pray for rain and prosperous seasons, and also for good hauls of fish, but they did not pray to them for recovery from sickness.[1]

E. E. Collocott.

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114 [1] Although Tongan folklore might give considerable help in the attempted solution of many Polynesian problems, by virtue of the geographical position of the island group, hitherto only a very imperfect record has been made, and it may now be too late to add to that record. [113] There is not very much to be found in the two little volumes of W. Mariner's *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (see "Fishing up Tonga," vol. i. (1827), p. 228; there is a tale ("The Beginning of Death"), told by a Tongan chief, in L. Fison's *Tales from Old Fiji* (pp. 139 *et seq.*); and there are about 25 pages of "traditions" in vol. ii. of *Anthropos* (1907). The preceding versions, translated by a member of the Society, the Rev. E. E. Collocott of Nukualofa, Tonga, from the Tongan in Dr. Moulton's magazine, are therefore a valuable addition to the material available to English students of Oceanic folklore.—[Ed.]

784 the suspects were led into the sea, for the guilty one
would be bitten by sharks under the direction of the
[681] gods.[13] Supernatural sanctions and the rigid system
[671] of taboos, which were early Tongan society's
substitute for a written code of laws, essentially
conditioned behavior through fear and quite
effectively controlled crime within the community
at large.[14]

778 Certain of the principal gods had wooden houses
of worship erected in their honor, usually on sacred
793 burial grounds. Priests, serving as intermediaries
between the gods and the people, would invoke a
787 god and would accept offerings in his behalf. Upon

[p 40-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
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778 Among the objects in which some gods chose to abide were weapons, fine mats, and smaller things such as whales' teeth, seashells and stones which were usually wrapped in tapa cloth smeared with the yellow juice of turmeric *(enga).*[19] These articles were kept in the house of the god represented by each particular object, and were displayed by the priest only when worshippers came to pray and make offerings.

787 In the past, gods were consulted for any number

[p. 42-B]

771 spiritual development, as represented by their old religion, was low. Their pantheon was a medley, and their theology unredeemed by any gleams of philosophy as in the religion of India.

776 2. The gods of Tonga may be divided into three classes.

779 (1) In common with other parts of Polynesia, their great gods comprise the two groups of the Tangaloa and the Maui (pronounced Mow-y: Mow as in *now*). The *Tangaloa* were the earlier group, and consisted of Tangaloa ‘Eiki (‘Lord Tangaloa,’ or ‘Tangaloa the Elder’), Tangaloa Tufunga (‘Tangaloa the Smith, Carpenter, or Artificer,’ who made axes and built canoes), and Tangaloa ‘Atulongolongo (‘Tangaloa the Sender-forth-of-sound’). The *Maui* group consisted of five persons: Maui Motu‘a (‘Old Maui,’ or ‘Maui the Father’), Maui Loa (‘Maui the Tall’), Maui Buku (‘Maui the Short’), and Maui ‘Atalanga (‘Maui the Vigorous Planter’). This last had a son called Maui Kijikiji (pronounced Kitsikitsi: ‘Maui the Violent, the Mischievous’), who was, of course, the grandson of Maui Motu‘a.

There were, however, older gods than any of these. One was called Tama-bo‘uli-ala-mafoa (‘Son-of-the-Darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn’). Some accounts represent him as the original deity. Another of the primitive gods was ‘Eitu-matubu‘a (‘‘Eitu-of-the-olden-time’). He is spoken of as the father of the Tongan people. Another of these gods was Hikule‘o, the Tongan Satan. *Hikule‘o* means ‘the echo,’ and there is no doubt that this was the original signification of the name; but as it *might* mean ‘Watching Tail,’ the legend grew up that the tail of this deity was so long that when he, the god, went about, the tail kept watch [822] at home. But even now the Tongans, when they hear an echo, say it is Hikule‘o walking in the woods; and the other explanation was evidently an afterthought.

These with others were the original gods of Tonga. By and by a division of departments took place. To the Tangaloa was assigned the Sky (or Heaven); to the Maui group the Under World; and to Hikule‘o the World and Bulotu (Hades). But in order to keep Hikule‘o in his place, as he was a god that delighted in mischief, a cord was attached to him, one end of which was held by Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by a Maui in the under world, to prevent his leaving Bulotu to damage the world. This division was effected by an older god than any, namely, Taufulifonua (‘Frequent-Upsetter-of-the-land’), who also assigned the sea to Hemoana, and the woods and dry land generally to Lube (the Dove). Hemoana's name is sometimes pronounced Heimoana, and the present writer *believes* that Tongavalevale spoke of him as Hea-Moana, though he is unable to speak positively on that point. *Hea-Moana* would signify ‘Hea-of-the-deep-sea’; *Hemoana* would be simply ‘the Deep [778] Sea’ = Oceanus. His shrine was the banded sea-snake. These were the Olympian gods of Tonga; but, with the exception of Hikule‘o, they were rarely worshipped, and few if any temples were [782] erected in their honour. The exception is due to the fact that Hikule‘o was a mischievous god, and must therefore be propitiated.

776 778 779 (2) The second class of gods were an inferior race, who had their shrines in animals, birds, fishes, trees, whales' teeth, clubs, and even stones. Yet these were the gods worshipped by the people, and their temples were to be found in every village. Here are a few of them: Tu‘i ‘Ahau (‘King of the town of ‘Ahau’), whose shrine was a volcanic stone of peculiar shape; Tu‘i Lalotonga (‘King of Rarotonga,’ or perhaps of the world below Tonga), whose shrine was the dragon-fly; Taliai Tubou (the god of the reigning dynasty while yet heathen),

776 whose shrine was a shark [Mariner renders *Taliai Tubou* by 'Wait there, Tubou,' which is certainly
778 incorrect; Taliai Tubou was probably the name of a king]; Bulotu Katoa (the Pleroma of the Spirit
779 World, who presided over hurricanes, and agriculture), whose shrine, we think, was a tree at Kolonga [Mariner mentions several the present writer has never heard of: Tubou Toutai ('Tubou the Mariner'; Tubou is the familiar designation of the king, and one of his family is usually called Tubou Toutai); Hala'evalu ('Eight Ways'; also the name of a chief); 'Alo'alo ('the Fanner'), the god of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation; Tu'i Bulotu ('King of the Spirit World')]. Other gods resided in the turtle, the cuttle-fish, the kingfisher, etc. Fonokitangata's
784 shrine was a war-club. These were, so to speak, the private gods of the people, and the shrine of
779 each was tabu to its worshippers. Thus the people of Te'ekiu were forbidden to eat the octopus, that
[778] being the shrine of their god. In the neighbouring villages, however, it would be freely eaten. In Nomuka one particular family were thus debarred from eating turtle, while the rest of the town were free to partake of that delicacy.

776 (3) In addition to these there were a number of supernatural beings whose position in the Tongan
779 pantheon is not clear. They were looked upon as gods, and the term expressive of highest deity was applied to them; but they were never worshipped, nor were temples built to them. On the contrary, they were looked upon with contempt, and their follies freely portrayed and laughed at. It is curious to see these ascriptions of high divinity and expressions of contempt standing side by side. Is it that these were the gods of the inferior race which the Tongans found in the group when they landed?

776 Take an instance or two. Jiji and Faiga'a were two goddesses in this class, who had set their affections on a Tongan of great masculine beauty called Bajikole. He, tired of their attentions,
773 plaited two large baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, put one goddess in each, and, shouldering them like a Chinaman, conveyed them
779 into the bush, and hung them on the branch of a tree, and left them there for two years, until the baskets rotted, and they fell to the ground. They made another attempt on his affections, and he finally got rid of them by inveigling them into his fish traps, and leaving them at the bottom of the sea, where they lay until Tangaloa took pity on them, and sent a god to release them. Take another instance. In this case also it was two goddesses, who set out to meet a mortal lover. While waiting for him, they took off their heads to dress their hair. Suddenly his footsteps were heard, and they put their heads on again; but in the hurry one of them put hers on hind before; and when she attempted to move, her face went one way and her legs another. It is extremely puzzling to meet with tales like these, referring to those to whom the titles of highest deity are given: and yet, after all, they do but recall the vagaries of the Olympian deities as described by Homer, when

> 'Unextinguished laughter shook the skies.'

769 On the subject of ancestor-worship, Mariner speaks positively (vol. ii. p. 97): 'That there
779 are other Hotooas or gods, viz. the souls of all deceased nobles and matabooles.' The present writer was disposed to agree with him at first, especially as it was a custom of the people to go to the cemeteries to pray, even after a sacrifice had been presented at the temple. But further inquiry has convinced him that they did so because they fancied themselves nearer the spirit-world in
769 such places. Intelligent chiefs like Valu, who were acquainted with heathenism, are equally
776 positive in the other direction, and deny that they looked upon the spirits of deceased chiefs as gods. We think the truth lies between the two state-
779 ments, and that Mariner himself gives us a key to the solution of the question. In vol. i. p. 376, he speaks of Feenow as being frequently inspired by the spirit of Mumui (a late king of Tonga). Now we can readily understand that in such circumstances Feenow would pray to Mumui, and others would join him; so that in time Mumui would be

769 looked upon as a god. This would account for
776 such gods as Tu'i Lalotonga, Tu'i 'Ahau, Taliai
779 Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present
writer negative the assertion that the spirits of
chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may
then look upon the gods of the first class as primitive, brought by the Tongans from their original home, and the third class as the gods of the aboriginals whom they conquered. The second class contained also some primitive gods, but was recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—*i.e.* the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom kings and notable personages fancied themselves to have been possessed.

778 The other point the present writer made special
776 inquiries about was whether the Tongans wor-
779 shipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees,
[782] stones, etc., before which they placed their offerings, or the god who was supposed to be temporarily residing in them. The answer was decisive. The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *vaka*, the god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage, or anything by which one is conveyed from place to place.

776 Probably we may see here a development of their
779 spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Maui,
[178] Hemoana — were undoubtedly corporeal. Their bodies performed all the functions of human bodies, and they were inflamed with human passions. But the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained when the missionaries came. The third class of gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of
[178] worship being paid them at any time. These two classes existed side by side; but long before the introduction of Christianity both had been discarded as objects of worship, which was paid only to the second class. In other words, the Tongans had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate, this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

192 The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'ahikehe*.
776 This is often shortened into *fa'ahi*, and when the adjective *lahi*
779 ('great') is added—*fa'ahi lahi*—the idea conveyed is that of full
[114] deity. *Fa'ahi* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket); or it may be short for *fa'ahinga* = 'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,' 'genus.' *Kehe* = 'other' (ἕτεροι, not ἄλλοι), so *fa'ahikehe* is 'different folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is *'Otua*. Mariner spells it *Hotooa*, but there is no *h* in it. The inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *k*, which is one of the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognized by the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while being as intractable as the Ayin in Hebrew. The present writer has failed to find any derivation for *'Otua*, or meaning other than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word. In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *Atua*.

The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so high a term as *'Otua*. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only 'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *ha me'a faka'eiki*, which
[114] apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Probably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130):
[769] 'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed *hotooa*, i.e. a god or spirit.' He is certainly wrong in that statement. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the word, which the laws of the language point out to have been *ikeiki*.

776 We must not pass over the fact that the members
779 of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as
643 gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were certainly looked upon as in some sense divine
643 beings; and instances are on record of prayers being offered to them. Words applied only to the
195 gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*, already referred to, *ha'ele*, and *'afio*, used of the movements of deity. The face of the Tu'i Tonga was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the representative of the gods, were presented the 'first-fruits.' This ceremony, called the *'inaji*, or 'portion,' is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 196). When
[764] a Tu'i Tonga died, he was said to be 'missing' (*hala*), and he was buried in a *ziggurat*, or pyramid

784 enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to
[764 all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression
when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque
[651] some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension
they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases
784 it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have
764 seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in
264 eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at
one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body
of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who
had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month
784 after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or
edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid
262 under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in
101 the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop
it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of
the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very
custom as expressing its singularity.

From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these
784 mourning and religious ceremonys are executed one would expect to
[775 find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some
other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things
merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future
punishment for faults comitted in this life. They however believe
that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method
to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them.
[776] The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga[1] who
they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder,
[821 winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence.
[821 They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of
the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed
[753 by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death
[761 as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no
wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their
power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural
order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their
776 endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this
divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they
778 pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection,
though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

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[1] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289–90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

denotes local worship. The Malacees are however doubtless public 776
places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and 778
their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far
exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be 346
no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pro-
nounc'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began 799
the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were
no other than priests and at that time absolutely prefering some
petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief 776
in the plurality of deitys, though all inferior to this one, amongst
whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo[1] god of the clouds and fogg, [824]
Talle te'boo[2] and some others residents of the heavens. The first in
rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its produc- [823]
tions, is call'd Footo'fooa[3] who they say is a male and has for wife
Fykava ka'jeea,[4] and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones
as Va'hàá-fonooa;[5] Tareeava;[6] Matta'ba-E'varoo[7] &c. The same re-
ligious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; [184]
for the supreme god of Hapaee for instance is call'd Alo Alo,[8] and [775]
other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of
the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond
erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no
farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and 774
immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what
is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,[9] divinity or in- 775
visible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs
seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,[10] the 776
chief or god of which is Goolcho.[11] This Goolcho seems synonymous [774]
with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us)
say they are subject to the power and dominion of Goolcho. They feign 775
that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward
beyond Feejee[*] (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant
land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

[*] This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe. [823]

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[1] Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'l fooa Bolotoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld. [775]

[2] Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war. [649]

[3] This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.

[4] Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.

[5] Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua. [6] Taliafa ? [7] Matapa'i-valu ?

[8] Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka. [821] [824]

[9] *'Otua.* [10] Pulotu. [11] Hikuleo. [778]

[451 cont.]

175 the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful
764 green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst
137 which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms appeared with their
various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, as big as the loftiest
oaks, formed one side of it, and shrewed it with their large blushing
175 flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet
764 high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was
covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps,
likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which
a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oowhe.
Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of
the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground,
and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with
only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found
the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one
corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was
[304] elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a
[763] man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger
had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his
[532] maduas or parents (13) died, they mutilated their hands. We found two
[171] pieces of wood a foot long, carved [452] into some resemblance of the
human figure, like those which are called e-tee at Taheitee, but they
were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of
respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about.
These burying-places, which are called a-Fayetooca in the language
of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and

[778] 13. Perhaps any relations in the ascending line.

127 797 181 [461]

> much idleness, and a want of love among the people. They think themselves quite demeaned by living with a missionary as servants (Turner, Journal, September 11, 1839).

127 797 Religious matters were all important to the missionaries and as such the Wesleyan accounts often provided detailed descriptions of aboriginal religious beliefs. These detailed Wesleyan descriptions may be compared with other similar missionary descriptions and the researcher may make inferences concerning the capabilities of the Wesleyan as recorder as well as inferences about aboriginal religious beliefs. Cross

127 797 wrote:

776 [778]

> The Tonga gods or the gods of the Tonguese are almost innumerable. They have made themselves gods of men, birds, beasts & fishes, of vegetables, wood & stone, whales teeth, &c (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Another missionary wrote of the Tongans that they had "gods irrational and inanimate swell [ing] the number to an almost Grecian amount" (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836). Another time he wrote that these gods included "a whales tooth" which was once "the object of worship" (Ibid., August 23, 1834). The fact that the tooth of a whale could be viewed as a deity was reported by other Wesleyan missionaries:

127 797 776 778

> Today arrived Kelebi Fulilagi from Haabai bringing us a letter from the brethren of a very pleasing nature. By this opportunity I received a Tonga god name Eiku-tubu, from the great Chief the Tammaha. This god is a whales tooth, wrapped in a fine mat which they call Tuoua (Thomas, Letter-Journal, entry of August 20, 1833).

> ...and had two gods presented to me, which were formerly of great note here, one of them was given to me by the Tamaha, and the other by another chief of high rank. Idol gods are a very scarce commodity here now, the Tamaha sent me one a short time ago which was called her grandfather, it is a small tooth of a whale (Tucker, Letter, February 13, 1836).

643 sentative of Hikule'o, the god of harvest, an annual festival of
423 *'inasi* (offering of the first fruits to him) was held.[3] It was believed
that failure to carry out the *'inasi* would result in calamity and the
651 whole land would suffer from divine wrath.

[776] The land was gradually divided among the principal chiefs
[784] as the population increased with the years and, in practice, they
became the effective controllers of their respective land. Once a
423 *tofi'a* (hereditary estate) had been allocated to a chief, it remained
565 associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the *hau*
643 ever revoked it (Waldegrave 1834:185), though they could
depose its existing title holder and choose another. The chiefs
[651] further acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga for
their land by paying him tributes and by performing the traditional
fatongia[4] *(corvée).*

659 Politics was closely interwoven with religion in Tonga. Every
chiefly person possesed some degree of *mana* or supernatural
565 power. However, the amount of *mana* a chief received was also
● 778 thought to depend on the good will of the gods. Chiefs made
offerings to obtain the favour of the gods and consulted them on
565 important occasions, particularly before going to war or embarking
[782 on distant voyages. When any misfortune or natural disaster
787 occurred it was attributed to the anger of the gods. Since the
784 chiefs, who were the political leaders, relied upon priests as their
] mediators with the gods, a close alliance existed between them and
793 the religious leaders in order to maintain their mutual interests.
565 The powers of the priests were second only to those of the chiefs.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods.
776 Among the principal gods were the *kau* Tangaloa,[5] who lived in
the sky, the *kau* Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity
Hikule'o, who held Pulotu, or the Tongan paradise (Collocott
1921:152-3; Farmer 1855:133; Thomson 1894:23).

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[3] Because *'Inasi* was a religious festival, it was different from the ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs which was called *polopolo* (Gifford 1929:103; Martin 1827, I:201; Williamson 1924, III:347-8).

[4] Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer", i.e. to dig plant and labour for Dugonagaboola' (Orange 1840:139).

[5] *kau* is a plural sign. It comes before nouns denoting persons.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were 776 no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed [823] to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was [821] believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the [643] annual *'inasi* offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered [651] to her.[6]

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their 775 dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o [565] resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various [825] animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied [778] in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or 793 before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings 787 to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied 782 he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

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[6] Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a
[793] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods
in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend
[787] John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee
in London:

> 782 January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was
> 304 of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he
> 755 would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to
> no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's
> son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods.
> His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain.
> (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were
attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the
731 spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial
761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were
made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of
778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other
[792] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The
sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were
being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous
of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest
was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3).
The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec.
1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became
very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he
(Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness
of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the
Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being
[688] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from
attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a
crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement.
(Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu
where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered
[565] that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to 797
the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services
which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that 166
one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital
of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its develop- 797
ment: 368

> The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W-M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution 361
of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages.
Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others 798
started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries 797
were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing
Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of 771
superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself.
Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by [784]
many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to
His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God, [778]
their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and
the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

> 797 798 634 like this: 'I have brought you here to prove you; and I tell you beforehand what I am about to do, that you may be without excuse.' Then, commencing with the first, he said, 'If you are a god, run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared!' The god made no attempt to escape. He then spoke to the next in the same way, and so on till he came to the last. As none of them ran, the king gave orders that the sacred houses should be set on fire. His commands were promptly obeyed. Eighteen temples, with their gods, were burned down. (Farmer 1855:211)

797 798 643 ● 778 Peter Turner relates how King George and some of his warriors went to the god-house at Makave, a village near Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u. When the priest saw them he thought they had come to consult the gods, and he entered the house of the god and proceeded to pray for inspiration. The sight of this so exasperated King George that:

> He rose, went into the god's house, dragged out the Priest, and annointed him plentifully with mud from the gutter—and threw him on one side telling him as an old deceiver 'to have done with his foolishness'. He then went into the house, brought out the god, wrapped in a bundle of native cloth and fine mats; and to the astonishment and dread of some, began to disrobe the god, fold after fold was taken off until the great god was seen in the form of a small spotted shell, which fell to the ground, to the surprise—of some,—the shame of others, to see how they had been deceived, and some laughed out right. Fire was set to the house, and its glory ascended in flame and smoke. (P. Turner, Missionary papers:49-50)

797 798 643 Many were alarmed and took up arms to avenge this sacrilege but, when they saw that it was King George and his men, they became afraid and could not carry out their intentions. As a result, King George and his men systematically went on with this destruction throughout Vava'u. [669]

[634] The missionaries realised that traditionally King George and Fīnau 'Ulukālala were acting within the bounds of their authority, being rulers of Ha'apai and Vava'u. Religiously, they regarded it as a triumph of Jehovah over Baal. They were so excited about the success of this campaign that one of them declared, 'This tide of glorious intelligence that Vavau had become Christian spread northward and southward like a swelling tide' (P. Turner, Missionary papers:51).

> 669 728 salvation to God & our prayers for them, some say why what are they? They wonder they are alive but it must be because their friends have prayed much for them.

669 643 798 The fears of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu that King George might extend his campaign of destruction of the sacred places and effigies proved justified. Everywhere King George and his warriors went during the war they burnt down and destroyed god-houses, objects of worship, and sacred places. The *vao tapu* (sacred wood) of the famous sanctuary of Ma'ofanga, which had been so sacrosanct that no one could approach it, on pain of death, was cut down and sold to the sailors for firewood. Many of the warriors from the north took back with them, as souvenirs, pieces of wood made into staffs from this sacred place. Later in June, when peace had been restored, Rabone (Journal, 23 June 1837) wrote:

> Last night we walked out to the Mafanga of all others the most sacred place in these islands . . . King George . . . burnt down the spirit houses and now all appears desolation he has planted bananas on the most sacred ground and I was glad to see that the Gods & Devils had not prevented their growth they look well and promise abundant fruit in their season.

798 It was soon clear that, in spite of the return to peace, the heathens had not abandoned their resolve to stop the spread of Christianity. Unfortunately, the Christians themselves furnished some provocation which gave the heathens a pretext for further hostilities.

669 778 825 797 The first incident occurred on 25 July 1837. Describing what happened, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) wrote, 'I fired a loaded gun as a chief who was near the premises at the time rushed in and seized me attempting dragging me about vociferating in the most devilish manner . . . .' Rabone did not say what he was firing at, but Commodore Wilkes (1845:181) said that it was a sacred pigeon which was revered by the people. It is very likely that Rabone acted in ignorance. At Kolovai where he was stationed it was flying foxes and not pigeons which were
[565] regarded as sacred. In fact one of the most popular sports among
[222] the chiefs was catching pigeons. However, there was a *fa'ahinga* (clan) at Kolovai known as Matapā whose land was adjacent to

the mission house. These people had originally belonged to 669
Ve'ehala of Fāhefa, but had been invited by Ata to settle at
Kolovai. It so happened that Ve'ehala's god was a pigeon. What 778
appears to have caused the upset was that Rabone was seen 825
shooting a pigeon by the head of the Matapā clan, and he of 797
course would still revere the bird.

However, the rough treatment which the heathen chief gave 669
Rabone over the shooting incident grieved the Christians very
much. Referring to this, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) 797
recorded:

> Almost all our friends from the Foui [the centre of the Christians at Hihifo] had arrived both female & male and all weeping. Ulakai and Setaleki [the two leading Christian chiefs at Hihifo] went to the vagabond and gave him a smart telling too . . . .

Another source of annoyance to the heathen chiefs was the policy of persuading, and in some cases forcing, influential chiefs from Tongatapu to go to Vava'u and Ha'apai, so that they would become converted there. 'Ahome'e, a great chief from Hihifo, went to Vava'u in 1837, and when he returned he told Ata that he had become a Christian, much to the discomfort of the heathens. King George visited Tongatapu in December 1837 and tried to influence Ata to accept Christianity, but was refused. When King George returned to Ha'apai in February of the following year, Rabone (Journal, 24 Feb. 1838) wrote:

> We rejoice that Fatu's son Finau is gone with him and also Mahe'uli'uli . . . It is in this way that we expect the enemy must be weakened in Tonga at least this is one way viz the removing of certain influential characters to Haabai and Vavau where they will embrace religion return to this their own land and instruct their heathen relatives and people.

It was when Ulakai decided to seize five apostates from the fortress of Kolovai, in May 1838, and send them to Ha'apai that the already strained relations between the two factions deteriorated to a dangerous degree. The heathens closed their fortress 'for the preacher' and made preparations for war.

When the situation at Hihifo became too precarious, Rabone decided it was advisable to abandon the mission after he had

are said to symbolize the solidarity that exists between an 276
aristocrat and his chief by virtue of links of common maternal 574
ancestry. Second, there is the charcoal symbolism of latent hostility between chiefs and aristocrats. Third, there is the marginality of Eua and Heketa.

In Gifford IV (p. 250) Eua is a substitution for 'Eueiki hence 773
there is a recurrent association between 'Eukeiki and Heketa. 823
Both are unpleasant 'sacred' places associated with sin and 778
death. Both have real existence in modern geography but mythologically both seem to stand for 'the other world' of spirits rather than this world of living men.

In her paper Bott records a myth that is much more ex- 539
plicitly concerned with the polarization of this world and the 773
other world (see p. 228). Bott considers that this myth relates 276
to the origins of certain details of the kava ceremony itself. 574
Her text is as follows:

> *Bott II*
>
> The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a son is born, called 'Aho'eitu. When he grows up he wants to see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he climbs up to the sky by a giant iron-wood tree. 'Aho'eitu is enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that 'Aho'eitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers. When 'Aho'eitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is their father's son, they tear 'Aho'eitu to pieces and eat him up. The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of the linguistic association with nausea.[6] The sons vomit up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends people to collect the bones and the head which are also put in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above, is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some time 'Aho'eitu begins to take shape and

/246 cont./

772 world consisted of two fundamental types: (650)

(113) 650. H. Nevermann, Gotter der Sudsee /Gods of the South Seas/. Stuttgart 1947. p. 75.

the high (that is, the gods, the Mana (651),

(778) 651. "The essence that is extraordinarily effective" (that results in courage, bravery, talent, luck and physical strength in above-average measure) (ibid., p. 39).

the nobles, light and day, life and so on) and the low (that is, the commoners, darkness and night, everything that destroys, death and so on).

828 774 775 People believed that a human being consisted of three parts: the body and vital energy (both of which were perishable) as well as the phantom-being that separates itself from the body after death and goes on living independently. (652)

562. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. pp. 39/40.

(565) The Tongans, however, qualified this by saying that only nobles possessed such phantom-beings whereas for commoners there was no life after death. (653)

653. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 121, 136.

565 775 772 Thus, according to the popular belief, only the deceased nobles lived in that world beyond, which was never seen by human beings, which lay in the distant northwest and was called pulotu; there the phantom-beings of chiefs and the matapule serving them enjoyed an existance which, in accordance with their particular rank, was similar to their past earthly one, but was easier and more pleasant--quite simply, godlike. (654)

654. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 105, 108, 135.

775 787 There, the phantom-beings of chiefs were endowed with godlike power and were able to return to Tonga and appear to priests, to their

[No p. 371 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/246 cont./

775 787 relatives and also to other human beings. (655)

655. Ibid. pp. 105, 138.

775 776 The entire population, however, (that is, Tongans of all ranks) were subject to the power of the gods. The multitude of Tongan gods may be divided into "great gods," "the chiefs of the past who became deities," and demons. The former lived on earth as human beings, but were gods from the very beginning and had great power to do good and evil toward mankind. (656)

[771] 656. See also J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 103/104. Of the four great Polynesian gods Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Ro'o (Lono) and Ta'aroa (Kanaloa), the first three seem to have been unknown in Tonga (at any rate in 1800), while the last one is mentioned as Tangaloa (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 112 ff; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/ p. 289).

[787] [778] They made themselves known through priests, appeared in the shape of animals (lizards, dolphins, water snakes) and also entered into images or into simple things (such as stones).

[787] /247/ The chiefs of the past who became gods, like the great gods but to a lesser extent, were able to bring good and evil to human beings; often they appeared to warn, help and advise, (657)

657. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 104, 106.

and may therefore also be regarded as "tutelary gods," especially since the majority of them had only local, or even merely familial significance.

776 784 The demons or malignant kobolds, however, (according to Mariner) (658)

658. J. Martin, ibid., pp. 104, 119/120.

in conformity with their negative function, were always up to bad tricks and, out of pure mischief, inflicted on human beings the many little

/247 cont./

771 p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no
[346) systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the
islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs.
[778) Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The
793 (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no
771 means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

[776) They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs
[787) asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front
of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.
755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the
782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their
304 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)
565

771 665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454;
II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

[784) 666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff.
If a specially serious crime was committed,
the natives also tried to avert disaster
threatened by the gods through a child
sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

771 In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief
779 (667)

177 667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347;
J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339.
II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

/249 cont./ The
771 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this
784 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has
178 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its
778 meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, "
771 but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the
783 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this
776 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the
178 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and
did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the
[753] absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and
suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other
[784] transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial
771 and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no
796 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today
178 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take
part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with
793 their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the
554 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in con-
178 trast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former
782 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been
178 carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high
794 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace
771 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only
178 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight
[177] into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,